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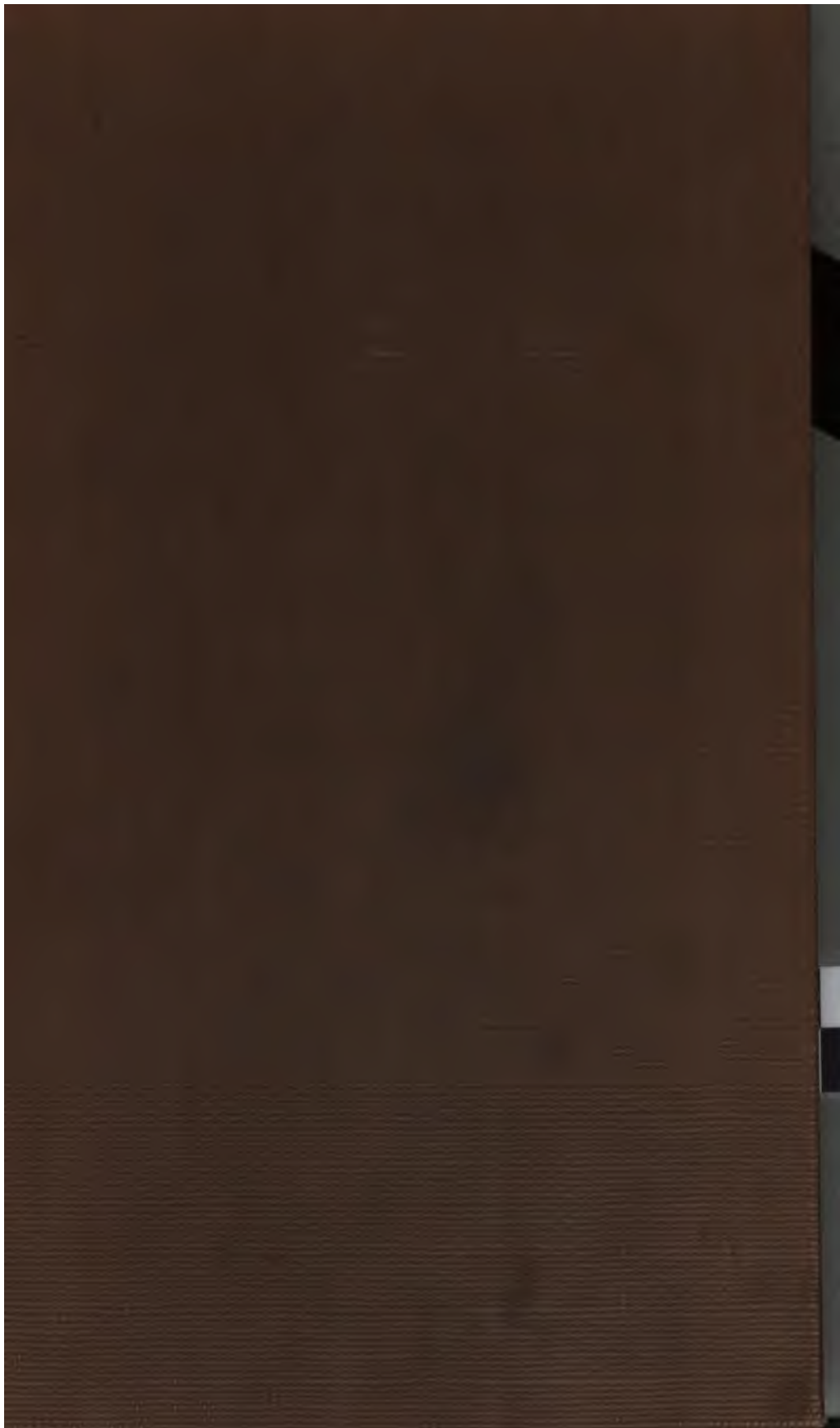
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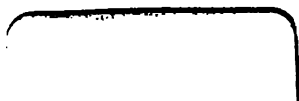
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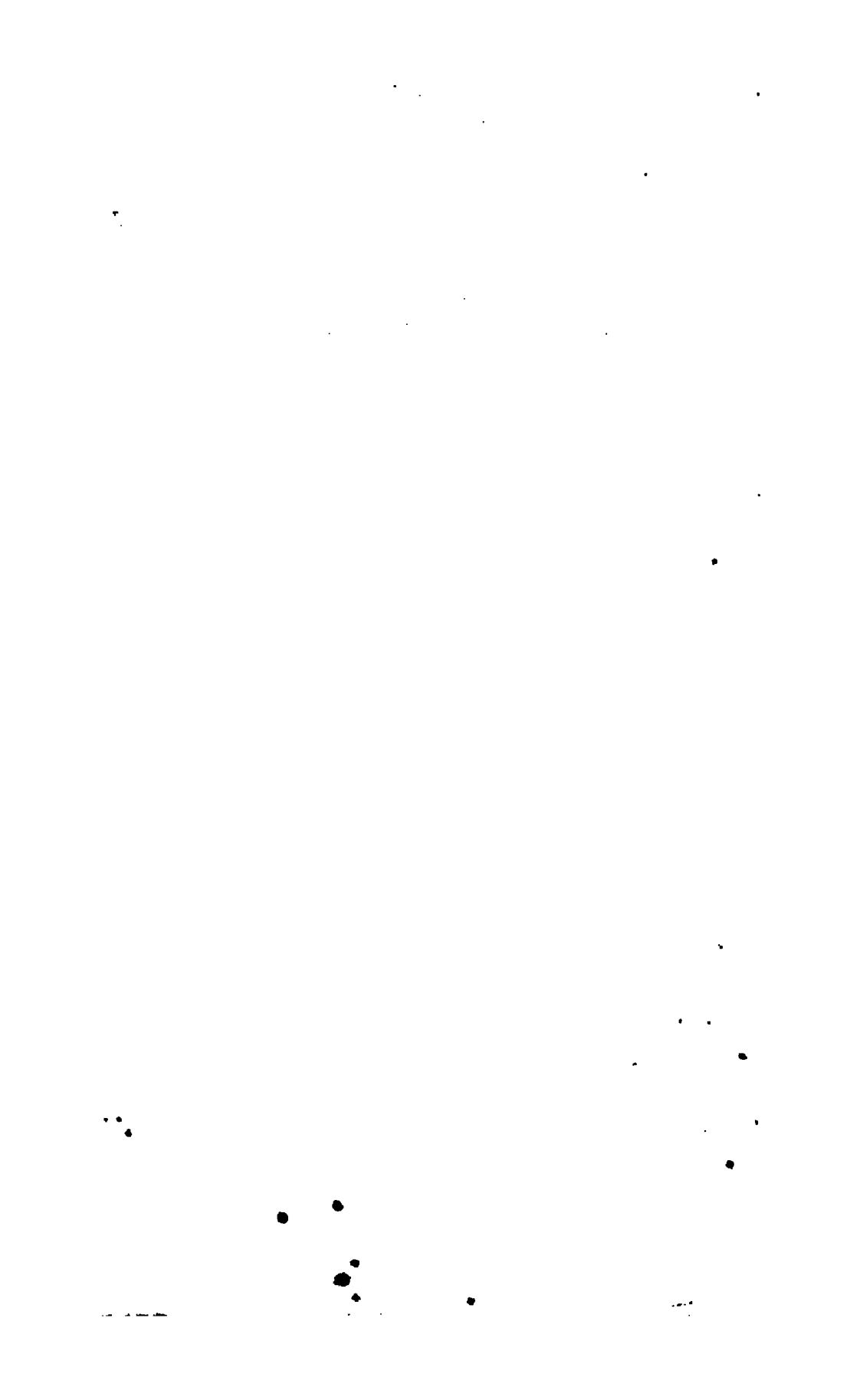


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SEAL OF SAINT MARTIN'S LE GRAND
AND REMAINS OF A CRYPT.

Published July 1. 1896. by Alfred J. Kempe, York and Road.

HISTORICAL NOTICES
OF THE
COLLEGIATE CHURCH
OR
Royal Free Chapel and Sanctuary
OF
ST. MARTIN-LE-GRAND,
LONDON;

FORMERLY OCCUPYING THE SITE NOW APPROPRIATED TO
THE NEW GENERAL POST OFFICE;
CHIEFLY FOUNDED ON AUTHENTIC AND HITHERTO INEDITED MANUSCRIPT
DOCUMENTS

Connected locally with the History of the Foundation,
AND
GENERALLY WITH ANTIENT CUSTOMS AND EMINENT PERSONS;

ALSO OBSERVATIONS ON
THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF SANCTUARY
FORMERLY RECOGNIZED BY THE COMMON LAW.

BY ALFRED JOHN KEMPE.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ENGRAVINGS OF THE VESTIGES OF THE COLLEGIATE
CHURCH, ITS COMMON SEAL, &c. &c.

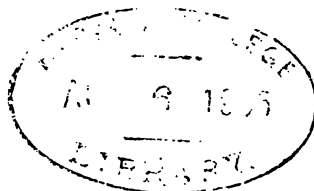
—◆—
Templa Dei saxo venerabili structa vetusto.—VING. Æn. lli. 64.
—◆—

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IN submitting the following pages to the public, the author hopes that they will be found, in some degree, to correspond with the description of their contents in the title.

His chief endeavour has been to present to his readers in the annals of St. Martin-le-Grand, matter derived from unpublished manuscript authorities, rather than a compilation from printed books, and to associate with his work as much interest of a general and historical nature as its limits would admit.

While engaged in collecting every thing which appeared worthy of notice relative to this highly privileged foundation, he had greatly to regret that the regulations of the Chapter of Westminster, in whom its possessions are vested, should be so exclusive of all historical research, as to preclude him even from a sight of the Register of the Church and Sanctuary of St. Martin-le-Grand,* a restriction certainly not existing in times when literary labours were

* This curious book has been cited by Stow, Tanner, Maitland, and several other writers.

less encouraged, and of which it is not easy to perceive the expediency.

He has, notwithstanding, to acknowledge the polite and flattering terms in which his application was answered by the individual at the head of the Chapter of Westminster.

It is, however, fortunate for his book, and creditable to the liberality of other establishments, that, although some curious additions were probably thus prevented, no material source of information was closed to him.

The collections of Sir Julius Cæsar in the Lansdowne Manuscripts, deposited in the British Museum, must be particularly noticed as having afforded him copious and valuable materials.

With a very diffident opinion of his labours, he hopes that they may fill a niche in the history of the ecclesiastical foundations of the metropolis of this great and happy country ; that they will present to the reader a variety of antient documents, worthy of preservation, and tend to illustrate the nature of a privilege, which although for ages recognized by the customary law of the land, has not in its modifications been clearly distinguished and defined.

Rodney-buildings, New Kent-road,
June 4, 1825.

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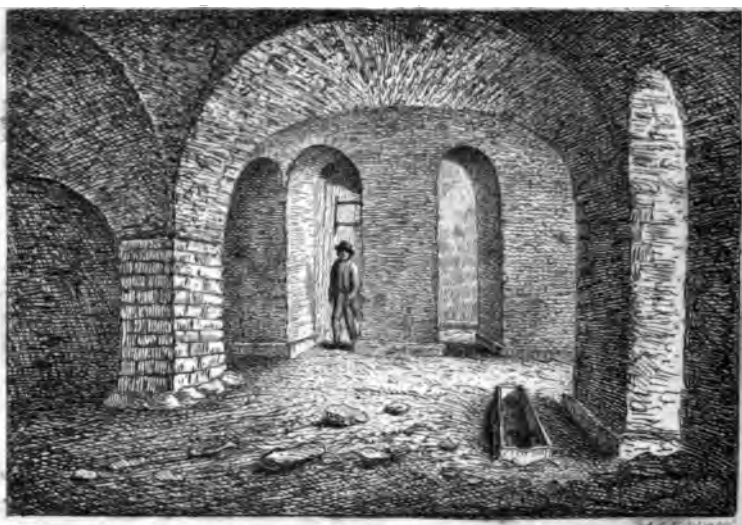
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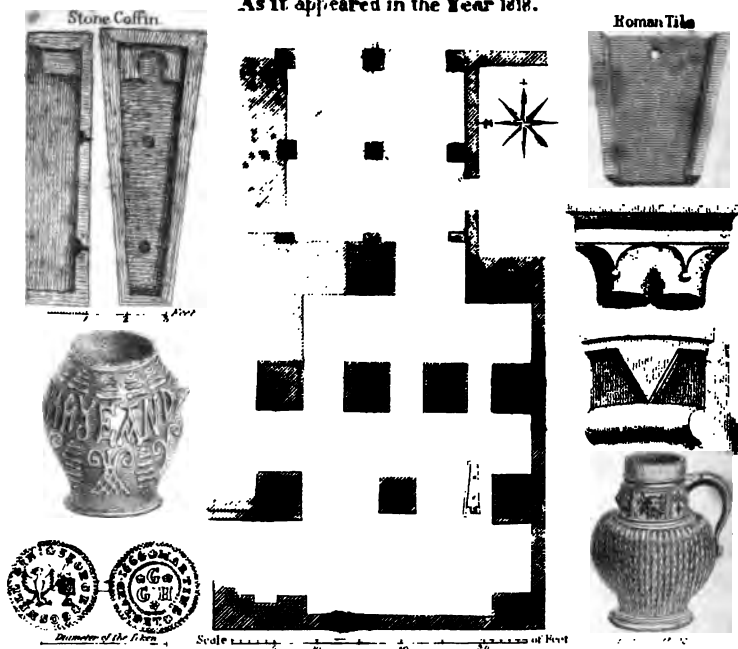
ERRATA.

- Page 23, line 6, *for causâ superflui deponendi, read causâ superflui ponderis deponendi.*
- 93, — 15, *for Sathan, read Dathan.*
- 101, — 1, *for Thomas de Sabaudia, read Lewis de Sabaudia.*
- 105, — 8, *for acts, read arts.*
- 110, — 10, *for plentitude, read plenitude.*
- 116, — 21, *for Robert Large, read Robert Marshal.*





ANTIENT CRYPT OF THE CHURCH OF ST MARTIN'S LE-GRAND.
As it appeared in the Year 1818.



A PLAN OF THE CRYPTS, ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS, &c

Published July 1836 by A. H. Knappe, New Kent Road.

HISTORICAL NOTICES
OF THE
COLLEGIATE CHURCH AND SANCTUARY
OF
ST. MARTIN-LE-GRAND.

THE monastic and ecclesiastical foundations of this country are so intimately combined with its civil as well as its religious history, include so many relations in close connexion with the state of society and the progress of arts and literature, that their local and particular history will be always regarded as a very interesting part of the detail of the grand outline of our national annals.

Whatever fetters may have been forged in former ages by the craft of priests for the enchainment of the mind, and the appropriation to themselves of personal treasure; much as the idea must be deprecated that an idle seclusion

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from society, or extraordinary mortifications of the body, could be acceptable to an all-beneficent Creator, or that the gift of worldly property, when death had deprived the former possessor of all personal claim to it, could be a reasonable propitiation for vicious actions; however odious, in some views, the reign of monachism may appear, it must not be forgotten, that it cherished arts, institutions, and sciences, which would otherwise have been lost in the military barbarism of the laity. In monasteries and ecclesiastical foundations that spark of literature was preserved which has burst from their ruins into an illuminating blaze. By them the arts of sculpture and painting were encouraged, and the first efforts of typography, that dispenser of knowledge and guardian of liberty, were fostered in their precincts. Nor must the encouragement which they gave to the elegant style of architecture which arose in the twelfth century, be forgotten, and which, employed in our ancient edifices, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, presents, even in its most shattered and inconsiderable relics, illustrative evidence of ancient foundations. Dispelling the doubtful veil which lapsed ages have drawn over historical passages, it recalls them with double force to the fancy by the very scenes in which they were transacted.

From many of the above considerations the Collegiate Church of St. Martin-le-Grand may claim the attention of the Antiquary and Historian, and now that the last stone of its venerable remains is dislodged, and all tangible evidence of its existence obliterated for ever, they may form a sufficient apology for the attempt to concentrate the records of its large privileges and immunities, of its eminence among ecclesiastical foundations, and to describe the vestiges of its edifices which existed in the nineteenth century.

It is a matter of no small difficulty to produce any conclusive evidence of the period when the Church of St. Martin was first founded; it must, however, have existed before the time of Ingelric and his brother Girard, who are designated by the Conqueror's Charter as its founders.

Tanner, in his *Notitia*, mentions, that in the margin of the Register of the College, deposited in the Library of the Abbey Church of Westminster, and which was written as late as the reign of Henry VI., Wythred King of Kent is named as its founder; but every other authority consulted being silent on this head, and Wythred having founded the Priory of St. Martin at Dover, which from its pre-eminence in that place was also styled *Le-Grand*, I conceive the truth of this assertion to be at least very doubt-

ful. I can find no authority in the old Chronicles for supposing that St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, was founded by Wythred; they mention a Church dedicated to St. Martin to have been erected by the Britons in memory of Cadwallo, one of Geoffrey of Monmouth's heroes, whose domination over London in the seventh century seems highly improbable, since it had been then several years under the Kings of the East Saxons, who were at first tributaries to the Kings of Kent. Besides, the Church designated by the Chronicles is probably St. Martin's, Ludgate; see the rhymes of Robert of Gloucester:

"Syx hundred yer of grace yt was, and in the vyftythe yere,
 Ther by get Penda lute Cristynmen vor to afere;
 Tho Cadwal Kyng of Brutons noblyche adde ynou
 Ybe King eygte-and-fourty yer and to elde drou.
 He deyde after Martynmasse rygt ben syxte day,
 The Brutons made deol y nou tho he ded lay;
 And make Kynges fourme of bras all holu withynne,
 Upe an hors ryde of bras, and that body dude therynne.
 And upe the West gate of Londone sette hyt wel heye,
 In sygne of his nobleye that men wyde yseye,
 An the sygte ther of the Saxons aferde,
 An Chyrche of Seyn Martyn ther by nethe hii rerde;
 War ynne me ssolde Gode's servyce do,
 And synge vor ys soule and vor alle Cristyne also *."

That there was, however, a building appropriated to the worship of the true God on the site of St. Martin-le-Grand by the early Christians of our island, is rendered extremely pro-

* Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, vol. I. p. 254.

bable by the Bull of Pope Clement reciting the Church to be among those exempted from episcopal jurisdiction, because they were founded before Bishops were ordained in the Kingdom, and episcopal jurisdiction had been usurped over them during times of civil commotion, *insurgente procellâ turbationis in regno.*

Something also may perhaps be inferred of the high antiquity of the Church from the Saint chosen as its patron. St. Martin appears to have been a favourite with the early British Christians, many churches, considered of the highest antiquity in our island, being dedicated to him; he had embraced in his youth the military profession under the Emperors Constantine and Julian, but seceded from it in consequence of the peaceable tenets of his faith, and ultimately became Bishop of Tours. The Church of Rome, always endeavouring to enhance the reputation of her Saints by proving too much, presents us with a most ridiculous tissue of absurdities in the miracles of Martin*.

Before I leave that part of my subject which imperfect records have left in much obscurity, it may be well to notice the evidence which appeared in the year 1818, of a building of very high antiquity on the site of the Collegiate Church.

* See the "Golden Legende."

VESTIGES OF ARCHITECTURE, OF ROMAN OR
SAXON CONSTRUCTION, EXPOSED TO VIEW
IN 1818.

In clearing that part of the area of the precinct of St. Martin's, destined for the site of the New General Post Office, in the Summer of 1818, the workmen laid open two ranges of vaultings, which had served as cellars to the houses above. The westernmost of these vaultings consisted of a building of a very solid description; its form and extent, from the nature of the excavation, could not be precisely defined, but it had the appearance of a square vaulted chamber. Lateral piers of a character peculiarly massive, being at least six feet square, and a centre pier of three, supported a roof slightly groined. The lateral piers were all formed of Kentish rag-stone, laid in a very regular order of construction; the coigns were protected by squared masonry. The centre pier was neatly faced with squared stone; the mortar appeared to contain a large proportion of sandy-gravel; and the vaulting, which might be 14 feet or upwards in height, was smeared with a tophus, or rough coat of gravelly plaister, to conceal the irregular surface of the rag-stone. The vaultings were keyed with tiles, turned up at the edges, resembling the wall tiles common in Roman buildings, but

broader at one end than the other; and the workmen employed in pulling down the structure stated, that between two of these tiles, the concave sides facing each other, was invariably thrust a smaller one somewhat in the shape of a wedge.

A stone coffin, of a form employed, as I find, both by the Romans of the Lower Empire and the Saxons*, was discovered near one of the piers, containing a skeleton, the feet lying towards the East, and being in all probability the remains of an Ecclesiastic†. This chest lay, according to the ancient practice, close to the surface of the ground, so that the lid must have been level with the floor of the vault. A single coin of Constantine was found at the same time on the spot. Whether the vestiges described were those of a structure erected by the Romanized Britons, or by their successors the Anglo-Saxons, can hardly be determined. The Romans, as we may learn from Tacitus‡, ingrafted their arts on the nations they had conquered; and the people who succeeded the Romans of the Lower Empire appear to have been close imitators of their manner of building. The general character of these remains, their bases corresponding with the level of Ro-

* Gough's *Introd.* pp. 22, 27.

founder, see p. 11.

† Perhaps of the

‡ Tacit. in vit. Agric.

man Londinum *, would indeed incline me to suppose them contemporaneous with the domination of that people; more especially as we find that the Temples of the Heathens were frequently, in the early ages of Christian conversion, stripped of their idols, and appropriated to the worship of the true God †. Many an enthusiastic antiquary might have converted the solid piers at St. Martin's into a Temple of Janus; but it is well in matters of antiquity to bridle conjectural speculation, often "returning to plague the inventor" with derision.

ENDOWMENT BY INGELRIC EARL OF ESSEX,
AND GIRARD HIS BROTHER.

The royal and free Chapel, which from an early period, as is observed, had probably existed, dedicated to St. Martin, found in the reign of the Confessor two noble and munificent benefactors in Ingelric and his brother Girard, Saxons of distinction; who, in all probability, erecting at their expence a more important structure on the spot as a Church, endowed it with lands for the maintenance of Secular Canons, an ecclesiastical order governed by a rule of life less strict and rigorous than that of the Monks. Of the number of these canons, and the constitu-

* Wren's Parentalia.

† Bedæ Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 30.

tion of their Prebends, notice will be taken hereafter. They were to choose from their community, according to the Conqueror's Charter, a Procurator or Custos for the administration of their affairs, and this office was, I conceive, synonymous with that of Dean. It appears from a manuscript which has been frequently resorted to in the course of these pages, that Ingelric was Earl of Essex under the Saxon monarchy, a dignity not then hereditary but of great importance; for, as a learned and high authority in our historical antiquities has remarked *, Earls were not at first purely titular, but absolutely Viceroys over the counties, invested with the military command of them, presiding in the County Courts, and sharing with the King the third penny of their Pleas. In short, the Earl was invested permanently with that power now delegated to the Lord Lieutenant with the Vice-comes or Sheriff.

This foundation and endowment took place in the year 1056, the 15th of the reign of Edward the Confessor †.

After the glorious but unsuccessful stand made by Harold for his Crown in the field at Senlac ‡ near Hastings, Ingelric appears to

* Dugdale, preface to Baronage. † Tanner's Notit. Monast.

‡ Or *Sanguie-lac*, the Lake of Blood; this name seems afterwards to have been conferred on the spot by the Normans, as expressive of the dreadful carnage by which it had been distinguished.

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have lost his possessions in Essex, which were conferred by the victor on one of his martial co-adjutors, Eustace Earl of Boulogne.

I am induced to suspect, from circumstances which will appear in the sequel, that Ingelric, and perhaps his brother Girard, devoted themselves to a religious life within the walls of their foundation ; and that Ingelric himself was the first Dean or Custos of St. Martin's.

Conjecture might otherwise have glanced at William Bishop of London, a man possessing much influence both in the time of Edward the Confessor, (to whom he was Chaplain,) and after the Norman Conquest ; he was preferred to the See of London in 1050. After the Conquest he successfully exerted himself to obtain for the Citizens of London an ample confirmation of their franchises, and appears at the same time to have employed his good offices in favour of the Canons of St. Martin's, as he will be found witnessing, in terms of peculiar goodwill, the ample confirmation of their privileges granted to them in the second year of the Conqueror's reign.

This charter was written both in the Latin and Saxon tongue. It confirmed the donations first made to the Church by Ingelric and his brother, reciting at the same time and establishing in a specific manner many privileges con-

nected with the Saxon laws and customs, as may be seen by the subjoined translation *.

TRANSLATION OF THE CONQUEROR'S CHARTER.

Forasmuch as among the many good works which the faithful of Christ perform for the health of their souls, that chiefly is esteemed and considered, which is designed by a devout mind for the institution and building of a holy mother Church, in which the servants of God, through their prayers, are absolved of their sins by a bountiful God; which Moses, by the construction of the mystical tabernacle, has foreshewn; which also was prefigured by the industry of Solomon, when he was building a costly temple to the Lord, signifying that the future Church ought to be adorned with the highest honour by the faithful: by the example of whom and in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I William, by the disposal of God and inheritance of consanguinity, King of England, Duke and Ruler of Normandy, assenting to the petition of a certain faithful subject of mine, to wit, Ingelric†, and obeying the Holy Counsel of the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbats, Earls, and all my Nobles, all the possessions of lands which in the time of my venerable and most beloved kinsman and predecessor King Edward, the said Ingelric had acquired, for the health of the soul of the most noble King himself, and also for remission of my own sins, I grant, and by my royal authority for ever corroborate and confirm to God and the Church of the blessed Martin, situate within the walls of London,

* For the original Latin of this, and other documents translated, see the Additamenta at the end of the volume.

† The mention here made of Ingelric as intercessor for the church, strengthens the conjecture that he was Custos of the foundation. A fact, however, of some relative importance has escaped my notice in the text, his daughter Ingelrica was the Conqueror's mistress. See a subsequent note.

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which the aforesaid Ingelric and Girard his brother, from their own revenues, and in atonement of their faults, honourably built to the praise of God, and for the Canonical Rule therein to be held and observed for ever. Now these are the names of the lands, Estre in Estsex, with the Berewic of Maissebery and Norton, and Stanford, and Fobbinge, and Benedict, and Christebal, and Tolesfunte, and Rowenhal, and Angre, together with their appendages, the meadows, pastures, woods, mills, and all to them belonging; and in Benefleot one hide, and in Hoddesdon one hide, also the Church of Mealdon with two hides of land, and the tithes and all things to it appertaining. Moreover also, on my own part, I give and grant to the said Church, for the redemption of the souls of my father and mother, all the land and moor without the postern, which is called Cripelesgate on either side of the postern, to wit, from the Northern angle of the City wall, where a rivulet of springs *, near thereto flowing, marks it out (i. e. the moor) from the wall, as far as the running-water which enters the City. I grant to it besides all the Churches and all the tithes, lands also and houses, which the faithful in Christ have already given to it within and without London, or shall in future bestow. All these things, therefore, the Church of the blessed Martin, and Canons of the same place, shall have and hold immoveably for the common use of the Church and the Canons. Moreover the said Canons shall elect from their brethren an able Procurator and Keeper of their affairs, who shall faithfully preserve their goods, and equitably distribute to every one his share at all times, without fraud; so that, having necessities to a sufficiency at all times, being exonerated from cares, they may devote their leisure to prayer, and

* Stow says it was called the River of Wells. The limits of the ground here defined appear to be from the River Fleet, to a stream which discharged itself into the Thames near Wallbrook.

laudably and worthily, according to their rule, serve God and St. Martin day and night. Be therefore the aforesaid Church itself, and the Canons of the same, free and altogether exempt from all exaction and disturbance of Bishops, Archdeacons, Deans, or their Ministers. Let all sorts of possessions of the Church itself be free from every royal imposition of service. Let them be quit from preparation of the army, from repair of bridge, from aid of castle and garrison. Let them have also soc and sac, tol and theam, and infangenetheof, blodwyte, mundbrice, burhbrice, mekeinninge, sceawinge, hleesting, frithsocne, fleamenafirmth, wergeldtheof, uthleape, forfenge, fyhfeng, fyrdwite, fiht-wite, ward-wite, henge-wite, hamsokne, forsteall*; and all other liberties or customs which any Church of my Realm of England may better enjoy. Now if any one shall presume to transfer to another purpose this which we have granted, may he suffer God's punishment for heretics with Judas the traitor. This Charter was written in the year from the incarnation of the Lord 1067; to wit, the second of my reign. And this donation was fulfilled on the birth-day of the Lord, and afterwards confirmed on the day of Pentecost, when Matilda my wife was consecrated Queen, by divine permission, in the Church of St. Peter, at Westminster †. I William King of the Angles and Duke of the Normans, under the seal of the Holy Cross, have irrevocably consented and confirmed; I Matilda the Queen have given my consent; I Richard ‡, the son of the King, have assented; I Stigand Archbishop have confirmed; I Aldred Archbishop have subscribed; I William Bishop of London, within the walls of which the aforesaid Monastery is situate, have underlined it with the mark of the Holy Cross, and have granted it

* See these terms explained in the Additamenta.

† Here followed, according to the Lansdown MS., a repetition of the Charter in Saxon.

‡ Some suppose we should read Robert.

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all sort of liberty as much as to my power can pertain; I Odo Bishop of Bayeux have consented; I Hugh Bishop of Lisieux; I Goisfrid the Bishop have corroborated; I Herman the Bishop have granted; I Leofric the Bishop have granted; I Giso the Bishop have granted; I Edwin the Abbat; I Wolwald the Abbat; I Baldwin the Abbat; I Algelsin the Abbat; I Thurstan the Abbat; I Brand the Abbat; I Alfwine the Abbat; I Algelwin the Abbat; I Sithric the Abbat; I William, son of Osbert the Earl; I Robert, brother of the King, the Earl; I Edwin the Earl; I Robert the Earl; I Marcher the Earl; I Waldeof the Earl; I Roger de Montgomeri the Earl; I Richard son of Gilbert the Chief*; I William Malet the Chief; I Arfast Chancellor of the King; I Michael Chaplain to the King; I Gilbert the Chaplain; I Osbern the Chaplain; I William the Chaplain; I Thomas the Chaplain; I Bernard the Chaplain; I Walter the Chaplain; I Robert the Chaplain; I John Cardinal, Priest of the Holy Church of Rome throughout Wales and England, bearing the Apostolic office, Pope Alexander consenting, was present at this constitution and have confirmed, as much as pertains to the Apostolic see, liberty to this church by the present mark; I Peter also Cardinal, Priest, and Chancellor, delegated from the said Pope to England, acquiescing to this constitution have subscribed with my own hand.

There is something of feudal grandeur even in the verbosity of the instrument above transcribed, and the imagination conjures up in its accompanying witnesses, the Conqueror's royal court, his queen, his warriors and nobles, the prelates of the holy church, and the legates of

* (*Princeps*), which I apprehend means here a military leader.

Rome, assembled at its confirmation. It contains an incidental notice interesting for the topography of ancient London.

The notary who transcribed it into the register of St. Martin's in the reign of Hen. VI., of which register I take the Lansdown MS. to be a transcript, introduces it with a very solemn preface, and gives a most particular description of the appendant seal of red wax * ; on the obverse having the image of the king seated on his throne, with a sword in his right hand, and the orb surmounted with a cross, in his left ; on the reverse, the king as a horseman, a lance in his hand with a standard affixed, his left arm supporting a shield, and holding the reins of his horse †.

* Lansd. MSS. in the Brit. Mus. n. 170. f. 52.

† Here I cannot but take occasion to mention the beautiful drawing of the Conqueror's seal, made by the late Charles Alfred Stothard (author of the *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*, historical draughtsman, and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries,) from the impression attached to the charter granted by the Conqueror to the City of London, and preserved among the civic archives in the Town-Clerk's office, Guildhall. It was the first of a series of ancient seals on which he had begun to employ his inimitably tasteful pencil ; the great designs of which were interrupted by a fate that has left his country to deplore the loss of his talent, while the only and best consolation which remains to his friends is the remembrance of his virtues.—See the Memoir of his life by his widow.

The practice of sealing charters had now become of common use, as it had also, I believe, in the preceding reign of the confessor, whose great seal is well known. Blackstone observes that Saxon charters were not usually sealed, but signed with a cross *; Sir Edward Coke mentions one of a Saxon monarch appended to an instrument executed a hundred years before the conquest; and instances of sealed Saxon charters of a still earlier date have been cited †. He considers, however, the seal of Edward the Confessor the only Saxon seal of authenticity.

PRIVILEGE OF SANCTUARY.

The charters granted by William, we may presume, were little more than confirmatory of the privileges conferred by Edward the Confessor on the foundation of Ingelric and Girard, and of the donations of the founders.

As for many subsequent centuries we shall find the dean and canons asserting and maintaining the right that their walls should afford an asylum to offenders, it may not here be thought irrelevant to offer a few observations on the privilege of sanctuary.

* Comment. book 3.

† Madox, pref. to Formul. Anglic.

Sanctuary is said by ancient writers to have been first established in this island by Lucius, King of Britain, who is reported to have lived in the third century of the Christian æra, but whose very existence is apocryphal. Spelman states that Pope Boniface the fifth was the first who commanded altars and palaces to be places of refuge for offenders. This was probably in imitation of the ordinance of Moses, which appointed three cities as a refuge for him "who should kill his neighbour unawares *."

There were two kinds of sanctuary, one of a temporary and limited, another of a permanent and general nature.

Sanctuary appears at first to have been only intended to afford a temporary refuge for criminals until they could compromise their offence with their accusers; almost every crime, except malicious homicide, being under the Saxon laws redeemable for money.

In a council † held under Ina, King of the West Saxons, A. D. 693, it was decreed, that if any one guilty of a capital crime took refuge in a church, his life should be spared, but that he should notwithstanding make such amends as the justice of his case might require; if his offence was of a nature only punishable with

* Deut. c. iv.

† Tyrrel's Gen. Hist. Eng. vol. i. book 5.

stripes, the stripes should be forgiven him. By the laws of King Alfred (A. D. 887) it was ordained, that if a man were guilty of a small offence, and fled to a church which did not belong to the king or the family of a private person, he should be allowed three nights to provide for himself, unless he could in the mean time make his peace. If any one during that period of immunity should presume to inflict on him either bonds or blows, the person so violating the privilege of sanctuary, should pay the price set on the life of a man by the laws of the country, and also 120s. to the officiating ministers of the church.

If the ministers had need of their church in the mean time for holy offices, of the benefit of which a criminal under such circumstances, it is presumed, had no right to partake, he was to be put into a house which had no more doors in it than the church itself, in order that he should not acquire by the exchange a better chance of escape; "the Elder" as he is termed, or civil warden of the church taking care that no sustenance should be afforded to him. But if he would "surrender himself and his weapons to his accusers," that is, I conceive, make such submission as might convince them that he would seek no farther occasion of doing them injury, he was to be preserved harmless for *thirty nights*, and then delivered to his kins-

men. So that it may be inferred, the privilege of sanctuary was at first intended simply to preserve a criminal from that summary revenge which might, in the heat of the moment, be taken by an injured party, and to allow his friends to make the best terms for him in their power. It was also further decreed, that whoever should fly to a church and confess, from a penitential reverence of the Deity, any crime of which he had been guilty, half the penalty of such crime should be remitted to him.

On the whole therefore, it may be concluded that from the time of the Saxon kings, under certain modifications, churches and churchyards were a refuge for offenders, and the privilege of the temporary sanctuary afforded by them may be stated as follows.

To those guilty of sacrilege or treason, it was for obvious reasons denied. Within the space of forty days the person who had embraced the sanctuary afforded by churches and their precincts was to clothe himself in sackcloth, confess his crime before the coroner, solemnly abjure the realm, and taking a cross in his hand repair to an appointed port, embark, and quit the country. If apprehended or brought back in his way thither, within forty days he had a right to plead his privilege of sanctuary and to claim a free passage.

If the offender neglected this appeal to the coroner, and remained in the sanctuary after the forty days limited, it became felony for any one to afford him sustenance.

The coroner was to take the abjuration of the criminal at the church door, in the following form, which acquaints us with some curious particulars.

“ This hear thou, Sir Coroner, that I *M.* of *H.* am a stealer of sheep or of any other beast, or a murderer of one or more, and because I have done many such evils and robberies in this land, I do abjure the land of our Lord Edward, King of England, and I shall haste me towards the port of such a place which thou hast given me ; and that I shall not go out of the highway, and if I do, I will that I be taken as a robber and a felon of our Lord the King ; and that at such place I will diligently seek for passage, and that I will tarry there but one flood and ebb, if I can have passage ; and unless I can have it in such a place, I will go every day into the sea up to my knees, assaying to pass over, and unless I can do this within forty days I will put myself again into the church, as a robber and a felon of our Lord the King, so God me help and His holy judgment *.”

* Rastall's Collection.

In an ancient law book * is the following particular account of the privilege of temporary sanctuary, by which it further appears that it was not indiscriminate. "If any one fly to sanctuary and there demand protection, we are to distinguish; for if he be a common thief, robber, murderer, night-walker, and be known for such a one, and discovered by the people, and of his pledges and denizers, or if any one be convict for debt or other offence upon his own confession, and hath forjured the realm, or hath been exiled, banished, outlawed, or waived, or joined upon this hope to be defended in sanctuary, they may take him out thence, without any prejudice of the franchise of sanctuary. But in the right of offenders who by mischance fall into an offence mortal out of sanctuary, and for their true repentance run to monasteries and commonly confess themselves sorrowful, King Henry II., at Clarendon, granted unto *them*, that they should be defended by the church for the space of forty days, and ordained that the towns should defend such flyers for the whole forty days, and send them to the coroner at the coroner's view."

This authority farther states that it was at the election of the offenders "to yield to the

* Horne's Mirrour of Justices.

law; or to acknowledge his offence to the coroner and the people, and to waive the law; and if he yield himself to be tried by law, he is to be sent to the gaol, and to wait for either acquittal or condemnation; and if he confess a mortal offence and desire to depart the realm, he is to go from the end of the sanctuary ungirt in pure sack-cloth, and there swear that he will keep the strait way to such a port or such a passage which he hath chosen, and will stay in no parts two nights together, until that for this mortal offence which he hath confessed in the hearing of the people he hath avoided the realm, never to return during the king's life, without leave, so God him help, and the holy Evangelists; and afterwards let him take the sign of the cross and carry the same, and the same is as much as if he were in the protection of the church, and if any one remain in the sanctuary above the forty days, by so doing he is barred the grant of abjuration, if the fault be in him, after which time it is not lawful for any one to give him victuals. *

“ And although such be out of the peace of the king, yet none ought to dishearten them, all one as if they were in protection of the church, if they be not found out of the highway wilfully breaking their oaths, or to do other mischief in the highway.”

The statutes of Edward the Second recite that those who had sought refuge in churches were sometimes watched so closely in the churchyards by armed men, that they could not procure any sustenance, nor depart from the hallowed ground "*causa superflui deponendi*;" on their declaration that they abjured, it was directed that they should be allowed liberty for these purposes, and be considered in the king's peace.

So much for the temporary sanctuary afforded by churches and consecrated ground.

The general sanctuaries (all, I apprehend, first privileged by the Saxon monarchs,) carried their protection to a farther extent, affording it even to treason, and it was also permanent or without limitation of time. The king's grant alone was sufficient to exempt such places from the jurisdiction of temporal courts, but the pope's bull of confirmation was necessary to confer on them the title of sanctuaries. It was an exercise, (however abused in an indiscriminate application,) of the great prerogative of mercy, and had, perhaps, its origin in the peculiar sanctity of the king's court as the very seat of temporal justice and mercy. The Saxon word *fridstol**, implying

* Spelman's Gloss. sub voce *Fridstol*.

a sanctuary, a refuge, a place of peace, is also employed to signify the king's palace itself.

Probably many places, from having been at some remote period the residence of the king, or of persons endued with palatine rights, became in consequence endowed with a saving privilege. The ancient palace of Holyrood-house and its precinct to this day gives sanctuary to debtors. King Edmund declares by his laws, anno 946, that his house shall afford no shelter to a murderer, except he have first made satisfaction to God and the slain man's kindred.

As the simplicity of times declined, and the luxuries and crimes of society increased, it is easy to imagine what hordes of profligate offenders took refuge within the limits of privileged places. A modern novelist has given a well imagined picture of one of these receptacles in the "*Fortunes of Nigel*," and we shall see in the sequel that the Sanctuary of St. Martin-le-Grand might have furnished him with an excellent scene for his description.

The lodgings of sanctuary-men became a source of profitable revenue to the Ecclesiastics. William Ebesham, a scribe, writing to his master Sir John Paston, perhaps from this very Sanctuary of St. Martin, about the year 1469, beseeches him as an alms-gift for one of his old gowns, plaintively exclaiming, "God knoweth I

lie in sanctuary at great costs and among right unreasonable askers." The Duke of Buckingham's speech in the Council, when Gloucester desired the removal of the young Princes from the sanctuary at Westminster, affords a striking picture of the state of sanctuaries at this period; I quote it at length from Stow. "Yet I will not saie naie, but that it is a deede of pitie, that such men as the sea or their evill debtours have brought in povertie, should have some place of libertie, to keepe their bodies out of the daunger of their cruell creditours. And also, if the crowne happen (as it hath done) to come in question, while either part taketh other as traytors, I will well there be some places of refuge for both.

"But as for theeves, of which these places bee full, and which never falle from the crafte after they once fall thereto, it is pitie the sanctuarie should serve *them*; and much more man-quellers, whom God bad to take from the altar and kill them if their murther were wilfull: and where it is otherwise, there neede we not the sanctuaries that God appointed in the olde lawe. For if either necessitie, his own defence, or misfortune, draweth him to that deede, a pardon serveth, which either the lawe graunteth of course, or the King of pitie may. Then looke we now, how few sanctuarie-men there be, whom

anie honorable necessitie compelled to go thither; and then see on the other side what a sort ther be commonly therin of them whom wilful unthriftiness hath brought to naught.

“ What a rable of theeves, murtherers, and malicious heynous traytors, and that in two places specially. The tone at the elbowe of the citie *, *the tother † in the verie bowels*. I dare well avowe it, weye the good that they do with the hurt that commeth of them, and ye shall finde it much better to lacke both than have both. And this I saie, although they were not abused as they now bee, and so long have been, that I fear me ever they will be, while men be afraide to set their handes to the mendment, as though God and St. Peter were the patrons of ungratious living.

“ Now unthriftes riot, and run in debt, upon the boldnes of these places; yea, and riche men runne thither with poore men's goods, there they builde, there they spend, and bid their creditours go whistle them. Men's wives run thither with their husbands' plate, and say they dare not abide their husbands for beating. Theeves bring thither ther stolen goods, and there live thereon. Ther devise they newe robberies; nightlie they steele out, they robbe, and

* St. Peter's, Westminster.

† St. Martin-le-Grand.

reave, and kill, and come in againe ; as though those places gave them not onelie a safegard for the harm they have done, but a licence also to do more *."

The abuses so well described in the speech above quoted, continued with little abatement, although we shall see they were the frequent subject of complaint, until the reign of Henry the Seventh ; the papal authority was then on the decline, and those enormities which justice could not before redress, were now mitigated by a policy which had for its principal object the abrogation of a privilege so dangerous to the crown as a shelter for treasonable offences.

The King was surrounded with malcontents ready to seize every opportunity to assail him in his newly-acquired royalty ; and we find that, in the second year of his reign, Lord Lovel, Humphrey, and Thomas Stafford, adherents of Richard the Third, who, after the battle of Bosworth-field, had taken sanctuary at Colchester, quitted their retirement, and made head against Henry ; but, failing, retreated to the Sanctuary at Colnham, whence they were taken on the judgment of the Court of King's Bench, that that place was no sufficient sanctuary for traitors †.

* Stow's Chronicle, edit. 1592, p. 729.

† Bacon's Life of Henry VII.

A Bull was obtained from Pope Innocent the Eighth in the following year, by which it was conceded, that thieves and murderers, if they issued out of sanctuary to commit depredations, might be apprehended in it. That persons entering into sanctuary to defraud their creditors should not be protected in their goods. That persons suspected or convicted of high treason, taking sanctuary, might be guarded, so as to be prevented from escaping from the Sanctuary *. This was confirmed by Alexander VI. in 1493 †.

The great Verulam, in the quaint language of his time, and adopting a figure somewhat ludicrous, describes Perkin Warbeck at the head of the Cornish insurgents, having raised the siege of Exeter, as beginning "to squint one eye upon the Crown and the other upon the Sanctuary." He mentions him afterwards as taking flight and registering himself with divers of his companions as sanctuary-men at Bewley (Beaulieu) in the New Forest, where they were soon afterwards surrounded and watched by the King's troops. The King was advised by some of his Council to take Perkin thence by force, and settle the matter with the Court of Rome afterwards, by obtaining an indulgence; but that po-

* Bacon's Life of Henry VII.

† Rymer, vol. xii. p. 541.

litic prince declined openly to violate the privileges of the Church, and preferred to get Perkin into his hands by his own submission.

The latter again made his escape, and I shall quote the whole account of the affair from Bacon, as it shows that the King still maintained the appearance of respecting the privileges of sanctuary: "It was not long but Perkin, who was made of quicksilver, which is hard to hold or imprison, began to stirre; for, deceiving his keepers, he tooke him to his heels and made speed to the sea-coast: but presently all corners were laid for him, and such diligent pursuit and search made, as he was faine to turne back and get him to the House of Bethleem, called the Priory of Shyne (which had the privilege of Sanctuarie), and put himself into the hands of the Prior of that Monasterie. The Prior was thought an holy man, and much revered in those dayes. He came to the King and besought the King for Perkin's life, only leaving him otherwise to the King's discretion. Many about the King were again more hot than ever to have the king take him forth and hang him. But the King, that had an high stomacke and could not hate any that hee despised, bid, "*Take him forth and set the knave in the stocks* *."

* Bacon's Life of Henry VII. p. 192.

At length in 1502, the 17th of Henry VII. a Bull of Julius the Second directed that persons suspected of treason, and taking refuge in sanctuary, might be seized and delivered to justice upon the mere suspicion *.

Under the subsequent reign of Henry VIII. various acts were passed regulating or restricting the privilege of Sanctuary. And it was enacted "that none of the said places should give immunity or defence to any person who should commit wilful murder, rape, burglary, robbery on the highway, or in any house, church, or chapel, or should burn wilfully any house or barn with corn †."

The King having assumed that authority which the Bishop of Rome had so long claimed over the temporal affairs of the Church, the Parliament, which declared his supremacy in the year 1534, passed also an act, debarring persons accused of high treason from the benefit of Sanctuary ‡. Sanctuary-men were afterwards directed to wear badges, and were "not to go abroad before sun-rising or after sun-setting. Their governors were to determine all debts or trespasses between them under £.10."

By another statute passed in the 32d year of

* Rymer, vol. xiii.

† Stat. 22 Hen. VIII.

‡ Stat. 27 Hen. VIII.

the reign of the same monarch, all privileged places are extinguished, except churches and their church-yards, cathedral and collegiate churches and hospitals; any one taking sanctuary in a church or church-yard is allowed, as formerly, the forty days of grace, and on being brought before the coroner, is to be marked in the thumb with an A; and not, as of old, to abjure the realm, but to abjure to any permanent Sanctuary he may think proper to select, not already containing more than twenty criminals; being conducted thither from constable to constable, there to remain during life.

Such persons were to be daily called before the governor of the sanctuary. In default of appearance for three days, or if they committed any felony, they were to lose the benefit of the sanctuary.

The abjuration from temporary to permanent sanctuary was ordained in consequence of foreign realms having obtained in these outlaws "many expert mariners, able men for their wars, many to the use and practice of archers*,"

* 22 Hen. VIII. cap. 14. "for Abjurations and Sanctuaries." The English had long been skilled in the use of that manly and effective weapon the *long-bow*, while by foreign nations the *arc-balista*, *arbalète*, or *cross-bow* was employed, a weapon requiring much less dexterity and muscular exertion; the use of the long-bow was therefore regarded with peculiar jealousy.

and many who had disclosed the knowledge of the secrets and commodities of the realm."

Sanctuaries at length received their death blow in the time of James I.; for by the act passed in the 21st of his reign, they were entirely annihilated: and it is not a little remarkable, that while he destroyed, on the one hand, a privilege of ill-applied mercy, he on the other sanctioned the most superstitious cruelty by the re-enactment of the statute against witchcraft *.

SUCCESSION OF THE DEANS, AND AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH.

We have but an imperfect account of the Deans of St. Martin's during the eleventh century.

I have stated the strong probability that Ingelric the founder was himself the first Dean. He was perhaps followed by Hugh de Orivale, the successor of William in the See of London, about the year 1070.

Eustace Earl, or rather, to use the Norman title, Count of Boulogne, before-mentioned, addresses a charter to him, by which it would

* Stat. 33 Hen. VIII. c. 8.; 21 Jac. I. c. 12.

appear, that Eustace had not complied with the confirmation of Ingelric's endowment, granted to the church by the Conqueror; but had retained the lands in Essex to his own use, citing William's gift as his authority, and claiming by the same right a jurisdiction over the church.

It is curious to compare the charter of William with the expressions of this document, shewing how far the Conqueror's gracious promises to the Canons of St. Martin's might have been "kept to their ear and broken to their hope."

The King finding it necessary to reward his followers for the assistance they had rendered him in the acquisition of his crown by the sword, while he enriched his own treasury by the oppressive tax of *Dane-gelt*, resolved to confer on them the possessions of the English Thanes. Commissioners were therefore despatched into the different counties, to ascertain those who had sided with Harold, and their estates were confiscated on that plea *.

Ingelric's possessions, and with them the patronage of the church of St. Martin fell to the lot of Eustace Earl of Boulogne: yet it does not appear that Ingelric was an open adherent of Harold, for he is styled in the charter before

* Tindal's *Rapin*, vol. i. p. 170.

transcribed, William's faithful subject. Without therefore we suppose that Ingelric gave up all his possessions to the Church, and retired completely from the world, we can hardly bring these facts to an appearance of consistency, for although it may be presumed that the confiscation alluded to, was made with little nicety of distinction, yet a shew of justice was attempted in the procedure ; for some confiscated lands in Norfolk were restored to Edwin, their Saxon Lord, on his proving that he had not sided with Harold *.

The charter of Count Eustace, addressed to Hugh de Orivale, may be thus rendered :

“ Eustace Count of Boulogne to Hugh Bishop of London, and all the faithful, health. Inasmuch as we have heard from the Gospel, that he who receiveth a prophet, in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward † ; and he that receiveth a righteous man, in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward ; I, therefore, induced by repentance, and the counsel of certain wise and just men, have determined to make satisfaction to the church of St. Martin and its Canons, for their possessions taken from them by me ; and although, according to the donation of King William, I might retain as my own all the tenures of Ingelric, which I received with the said church, yet regarding and providing for the health of my own soul, and the souls of my wife L. of my sons Eustace and G. with others,

* Tindal's *Rapin*, vol. i. p. 170.

† Matt. c. x. v. 40.

I have resolved to restore the underwritten lands, which I retained for myself, to the Church and Canons of the blessed Martin, to be held altogether free and undisturbed. To wit, the land of Maldon, with the church of St. Mary and all its appurtenances, and Estre * and Tolleshunt, and Benefete and Hoddesden, and the smaller lands, namely those which were the private possessions of Ingelric, and which ought to belong to the deanery. I will and grant, that the Church and Canons hold the said lands altogether as free and undisturbed as Ingelric more peaceably held them for one day and one night, and as I afterwards held them all in my demesne, and as also I hold the land of my own manse †.

“ If any of my sons or relations, instigated by the Devil, shall wish to diminish or infringe the liberties of the church, let him be banished from the company of God and the blessed Martin, and from our good will. Now the witnesses of this are many. Arnulphus the Sewer, Hubert the Bald, and many others of his family.”

The son and successor of Count Eustace confirmed the above by his charter thus prefaced :

“ Eustace Count of Boulogne to the Rulers of England, health. Be it known to you, that the land which the church

* Afterwards called Good Easter.—Of this place the following entry in Domesday. “ Terra s'c'i Martini Londoniæ: Estra tenuit Ailmar 1 temp regis E. 7 consul. Eustachi' dedit s'c'o Martino,” &c.—Domesday, p. 20.

† The manse implies the capital house or court of the lord of the maner, with the land immediately retained by him for his own use; the remainder was occupied by his tenants who owed their suit and service to his court. The words manse, and maner have the same derivation, from *maneo* to remain, or continue resident.

of St. Martin, founded within the City of London holds, was given by my father to the aforesaid church, from his own demesne and proper manse, quiet and free from all disturbance, as the lands pertaining to my own manse may be. Let it be endowed with the same liberty, &c. &c."

The Counts of Boulogne appear the patrons of St. Martin's by the letters also of Henry the First, which restore to the canons their land of "Crepelesgate," taken from them by William Rufus, when discord had arisen between the latter and Count Eustace; who with other barons took up arms in favour of Robert Duke of Normandy's claims to the Crown *.

In the year 1077, according to Willis †, Geoffrey was Dean of St. Martin's, of whom I have found no particulars. He seems to have been succeeded by Roger Bishop of Salisbury, connected with whom as Custos of the foundation a number of documents are found. The remarkable character which this prelate sustains in the page of English history, induces me to insert a sketch of his life.

Roger was originally the priest of a small chapel in the vicinity of Caen, in Normandy.

Prince Henry, the third son of William the Conqueror, accompanied by a party of attendant knights, chanced to enter this chapel. The politic churchman considering, perhaps, the

* Lansd MS. 170. f. 62.

† Hist. of Abbeys.

rank of his auditors, and knowing the natural ardour and impatience of youth, performed the mass with such wonderful and accommodating rapidity, that he finished before his hearers suspected he had well begun.

Prayer, and the offices of religion, in these barbarous ages, appear to have been considered as a kind of expiatory tribute for all sorts of offences, and, provided that were duly paid, a licence for their indulgence.

The promptitude of Roger delighted the whole party, who declared that no better chaplain could be found for men whose profession was arms *; and Henry, perhaps conceiving that it might be well applied to other matters, took him into his service as a domestic chaplain, and on his accession to the throne of England, admitted him to the highest influence and offices in the state.

It is a trite observation that the characters of men are stamped by minute occurrences; from the above little anecdote, despatch and worldly policy appear to have marked that of the Bishop, qualifications which agree with Malmesbury's account of him, who speaks from personal knowledge and observation.

King Henry, says the historian, had among his Counsellors Roger Bishop of Salisbury, on

* Gul. Neubrig. l. 1. c. 6.

whose advice he principally relied. For before his accession he had made him regulator of his household, and on becoming King, having had proof of his abilities, appointed him first Chancellor, and then a Bishop. The able discharge of his episcopal functions led to a hope that he might be deserving of a higher office. He therefore committed to his care the administration of the whole kingdom, whether he might be himself resident in England or absent in Normandy. The Bishop refused to embroil himself in cares of such magnitude, until the three Archbishops of Canterbury, Anselm, Ralph, and William, and, lastly, the Pope, enjoined him the duty of obedience. Henry was extremely eager to effect this, aware that Roger would faithfully perform every thing for his advantage. Nor did he deceive the royal expectation, but conducted himself with so much integrity and diligence, that not a spark of envy was kindled against him. Moreover, the King was frequently detained in Normandy, sometimes for three, sometimes four years, and sometimes for a longer period; and on his return he gave credit to the Chancellor's discretion for finding little or nothing to distress him*."

In the course of his honours and promotions

* See the excellent version of Malm. Hist. Novell. by the Rev. J. Sharpe.

Roger was instituted Dean of St. Martin's-le-Grand, an office frequently conferred on those ecclesiastics in the favour and confidential employment of the Kings of England.

Roger employed his influence in the promotion of his relatives and friends. For his reputed son, Roger, surnamed, says Godwin, *de Paupere-censu*, he procured the office of Chancellor; his nephew Alexander was elected Bishop of Ely; his nephew Nigel Bishop of Lincoln. During his administration of the Church of St. Martin's the following letters patent were issued by the King in favour of the foundation.

"Henry, by the Grace of God, to all to whom these letters shall come, health. Inasmuch as the church of St. Martin the Great of London, which was founded by our predecessors, is our free chapel, and more free than the rest of our chapels in England, we have taken into our protection and defence the men, lands, things, rents, and all the possessions of the Dean, Chapter, and Canons of the said church; and we therefore command you that you shall maintain, protect, and defend the men, lands, things, rents, and all the possessions of the aforesaid Dean, Chapter, and Canons, from molestation, loss, or grievance. And if they shall have forfeited anything, you shall straightway cause reparation to be made them. In testimony of which thing these our letters for the said Dean, Chapter, and Canons, we have caused to be made patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, the twentieth day of February, in the 39th * year of our reign."

* In the Lansdown MS. from which I have translated these letters, they are distinctly assigned to Henry I.; if they be his, an error has been made in the date. Henry reigned only 36 years.

To secure the descent of the Crown to **Matilda** his daughter, **Henry**, during his life time, caused the Nobles and Prelates of the Realm to swear fealty to her. To this solemn pledge **Roger** subscribed ; but on the death of the King he conspired with **Henry de Blois**, Bishop of Winchester, to set the brother of the latter, **Stephen**, upon the throne. **Stephen** was grandson of the Conqueror, by **Adela** his daughter, wife to **Theobald** Earl of Blois. The Bishop by this infraction of his oath, so blind are the calculations of human policy unguided by honest principle, seems ultimately to have entailed on himself disgrace, ruin, and death.

The claim of **Stephen**, recognized by these Prelates, could not be that of primogeniture in the male line, for **Stephen** had an elder brother **Theobald**. The pretence for excluding the Empress was, that she had forfeited her claim to the crown by her marriage with **Geoffrey Plantagenet** Earl of Anjou, without the consent of the nobles of the realm. The troubles and confusion to which the disputed succession gave rise are well known, and traces of them will be found in the chartulary of **St. Martin's**.

To insure himself on the throne, **Stephen** granted unlimited licence to his feudatories to fortify their mansions, and in the early part of his reign no less than eleven hundred and seventeen

castles were erected *, and with them as many tyrants established, who exercised in their respective domains the most barbarous cruelties and oppressions †. The Bishop, for the security of his own power, built, at an enormous expense, the castles of Devizes, Malmesbury, and Sherborne.

But as his secular importance thus increased, he became suspected by the King of secretly favouring the claims of Matilda, and Stephen determined to subject him and his adherents to personal restraint.

For this purpose the Bishop with his son and nephews were summoned to a council at Oxford. The Bishop of Ely, aware of the ultimate end of this mandate, declined to comply with it, and shut himself up in the castle of Devizes. The Bishop of Salisbury attended, as did Roger de Paupere-censu, and the Bishop of Lincoln. The wily prelate of Salisbury went it appears no willing guest. Malmesbury, (with that circumstantial particularity so charming in ancient historians contemporary with the period on which they treat,) says, he heard him utter, previously to his setting out, the following signifi-

* Godwin de Presuhbus, p. 339.

† Saxon Chronicle, Miss Gurney's Translation.

cant, though somewhat hypocritical, exclamation, "By my Lady St. Mary, I know not why, but my heart revolts at this journey: this I am sure of, that I shall be of much the same service at Court as a foal is in battle*."

There, either by accident or preconcerted design, a quarrel took place between the servants of the bishops and those of Alan Earl of Bretagne, relative to a right of quarters; which had a melancholy termination, as the Bishop of Salisbury's retainers, then sitting at table, left their meal unfinished, and rushed to the contest. At first they contended with reproaches, afterwards with swords; the domestics of Alan were put to flight, and his nephew nearly killed; nor was the victory gained without bloodshed on the Bishop's side, for many were wounded and one knight even slain." This violation of the peace and sanctity of the King's Court was a high offence; the King demanded of the Bishops the keys of their castles, as pledges of their fidelity to him; and, on their hesitating to comply, ordered them into close confinement.

They soon, however, consented to yield up their castles of Sarum, Sherborne, and Malmesbury to the King. But Ely still holding out in Devizes, which his uncle had made the strongest

* Malm. Hist. Nov.

fortress in England, Stephen repaired to the siege of it, taking with him his two prisoners, and erecting a gallows before the fortress, threatened instantly to hang Roger the Chancellor, whose life, as a civilian, he could take away without sacrilege; and whose person, by the same consideration, he had laden with chains. The unfortunate Roger was forced to ascend the ladder, and the halter was applied to his neck; when the Bishop, urged by the ties of nature, earnestly implored Stephen but to spare the life of his son; and, to prove he had no collusion with his nephew, who so obstinately held out, he would himself remain without sustenance until the castle should yield. On the third day of his uncle's fast, the nephew surrendered, and the immense treasures which were found in the castle, plate, jewels, with 30,000 marks in money, became the spoil of the offended monarch.

Henry Bishop of Winchester, the Legate of the Apostolic See, did not, however, suffer the violence thus offered by Stephen to the persons of Ecclesiastics to pass unnoticed; he summoned a Council, in order to obtain from the King reparation for the injuries done to the holy Church; and although Stephen resisted the demands of this assembly, as far as concerned the restoration of their castles; which he maintained

it was contrary to the canons of the Church for Bishops to erect, it may be surmised that he made some concessions in cases where the property of the Church had been infringed, for we find among the archives of St. Martin's, various precepts of restitution issued by the King in favour of the Canons, and one, in which it is curious to observe, that the differences above related are distinctly noticed.

“ Stephen, by the Grace of God King of England, to Andrew Burg, and the Sheriffs, and all his men of London, health. I command that Roger Bishop of Salisbury hold his church of St. Martin, London, and all the lands appertaining thereto, within and without the city, as well and honourably as he better held them in the time of King Henry, and soon after. And of whatever he or his church or the canons of the same may have been dis-seized, since discord has arisen between us, let them be re-seized; and let them hold again peaceably and honourably their land of Alderagate, of which he and his canons have been dis-seized by the sons of Hubert the younger, as they better held it on the day when King Henry was dead, and alive, and shortly after. Witness ourself, &c.”

“ Stephen King of England to the Bishop of London, and the Justices and Sheriffs, and all his faithful men and ministers of London, Franks as well as Angles *, health. Know ye that I have restored and granted, and have confirmed in perpetuity to the church of St. Martin, London, and the canons there serving God, those tenures which Roger Bishop of Salis-

* The distinction between the Normans and Saxons is worthy of observation.

bury had in his hands and possession, as master of the said church, namely, the land and houses without Crepulegate, which Griffin his servant was accustomed to have in keeping under the aforesaid Bishop, and that portion of land with three stalls in the market *, which Peter more firmly held of the aforesaid Bishop. Wherefore I will and command that they hold them well, peaceably, honourably, freely and quietly, with soc and sac, and tol and theam and infangentheof, and all liberties and customs with which Roger the Bishop at any time better held them ; so that no one in future shall be allowed, by any deceit, to snatch them from the possession of the church. Witness, &c."

"Stephen, by the Grace of God King of England, to Walter the son of Giles, and his bailiff of Meldon, health. If the Canons of St. Martin's can show that Oswald de Meldon unjustly and without adjudication hath dis-seized them of their land of Meldon in Burgage †; then I command that you cause them to be re-seized of them as they were seized on the day when King Henry was alive and dead, and whoever may have taken aught of them since, you shall cause it to be restored justly and peaceably, with the same customs as they held in the time of King Henry ; and, by so doing, Richard de Lucy ‡ and the Sheriff of the County will take care that I hear no more complaint thereon for want of right."

* A proof of the antiquity of Newgate-market, which was formerly close to the precinct of St. Martin-le-Grand.

† Burgage, a tenure peculiar to Boroughs, by which the tenants held of the King or Lord of the Borough on payment of a certain rent.

‡ A character of some importance in the History of England—A military commander under King Stephen, and Justiciary of England under his successor he had large possessions in Essex,

It would further appear from the above instruments, that the possessions of St. Martin's were subjected to that uncertain state of security in which all kinds of property appear at this period to have been involved.

Rapine and disorder, the consequences of a disputed succession, characterized the reign of Stephen. By allowing the great men of the land to erect fortresses at their discretion, in order to strengthen his own interests with them, Stephen had thrown the control of the whole country into their hands. The realm was filled with lawless freebooters, the lords of castles *. Their garrisons drove off the cattle in the fields, they respected not the sanctity of churches or church-yards, they seized on the wealthy country vavasours or yeomen, and compelled them by the torture of a certain instrument called the *sachentage* †, and other dreadful torments, to yield up their treasures. The dwellings of the miserable husbandmen they stripped to their beds, threw their owners into dungeons, and

built the castle of Angre or Ongar in that county, and at the close of his life founded the Priory of Lesnes, in Kent, where, in the year 1815, I sought, in company with the author of the Monumental Effigies, for his monument, said to be buried in the ruins of the priory church. The search was unsuccessful.

* Malm. Hist. Novell.

† Saxon Chron. anno 1137.

restored them to liberty only by the ransom of all the little they possessed.

In the midst of the disorders I have enumerated, the life of Roger Bishop of Salisbury and Dean of St. Martin's had its close ; worldly disappointment produced such an effect on him, who had built his happiness on the sandy foundation of temporal prosperity, that he fell into a quartan ague, and receiving the news that the residue of his treasures and plate, which he had devoted to the completion of his cathedral church, and had placed as for sanctuary on the very table of its altar, was carried off, he fell into the ravings of phrenzy, and in that miserable state expired on the 11th of December 1139.

In summing up the character of this celebrated prelate and Dean of the foundation, I cannot but closely follow the observations of the venerable historian, his contemporary ; who says, in a judicious strain of religious and moral reflection, that he conceives God exhibited him to the wealthy as an example of the mutability of fortune, in order that they should not trust in uncertain riches, which so many have sought and acquired to the wreck of their faith in the eternal treasures promised by the Gospel.

He ingratiated himself with Prince Henry by the economical management of those slender

means which the illiberal treatment of William and Robert had allowed their brother.

When Henry became King he rewarded this able steward and financier with the highest favour; he gave him all he asked, lands, churches, prebends, abbeys of monks, with the control of the treasures of the kingdom; made him a Chancellor, a Bishop, and in his absence his Chief Justiciary, or sole Regent. Every thing yielded to the influence and authority of Roger. If he thought lands contiguous to his own desirable to him, he procured them, sometimes by merely signifying his wish, sometimes by purchase, but, if these means were ineffectual, by force. The great, who witnessed with jealousy his rise, were constrained to use all submission and courtesy to him in public, and to nurse in secret the feelings of their envy. In the erection and decoration of magnificent castles, mansions, and monasteries, he excelled all his predecessors, and left costly examples of architecture to his successors, almost hopeless of their imitation. His promotion of his relatives, one to the highest legal office of the State, the others to the sees of Ely and Lincoln, then the richest in England, has been mentioned. Sensible of his power, he sometimes capriciously abused it, annexing monasteries to his See, and attempting to turn bishoprics into abbeys. Under Henry

his fortunes reached their summit, under Stephen they declined ; yet in the first year of that monarch's reign he obtained for one of his nephews the office of Treasurer, for the other that of Chancellor, and for himself the town of Malmesbury. The King often significantly repeating to his companions, as if he knew the Bishop's power too well suddenly to attempt to repress it: "By the birth of God, I would give him half England if he asked for it; till the time be ripe, he shall tire of asking ere I tire of giving *."

Yet that fortune which soothed and elevated him with her choicest favours, at last wounded his heart with the venom of the scorpion's sting, when he saw, in the fray at Oxford, his chosen followers wounded, his favourite knight slain in his presence, one of his relatives compelled to fly; the other, with himself, in custody, and his son delivered to ignominious bonds; when he found his castles taken from him, himself in public council bitterly reproached, his treasures carried off; when he breathed his last sigh amid the execrations of his competitors, the indifference and ingratitude of those whom he had raised to power.

The successor of Roger Bishop of Salisbury

* Malm. Hist. Nov. trans. by Sharp.

in the Deanery was Fulcher*, of whom there is nothing but his name to record.

The next Custos of St. Martin's was Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, the brother of King Stephen, whose elevation to the throne he had, in concert with the Bishop of Salisbury, procured, with a view to preserve the succession in his family. The elective nature of the Crown in this age seemed to prevail over the right of descent by hereditary primogeniture; a formal remnant of this election prevails in the coronation ceremony of the present day. In the choice of a monarch from the royal stock, the clergy exercised at this period a preponderating influence.

When Stephen, as has been seen, violated the immunities claimed by churchmen, his brother, the Bishop, constituted Legate of the Apostolic See by Pope Innocent II. was prompt to cite the King before the Synod of Ecclesiastics to answer for the infraction of the oath he had taken at his coronation, to protect the rights of the holy Church.

Matilda, aided by her half-brother Robert Earl of Gloucester, seized the favourable juncture for asserting her rights, and on the defeat of King Stephen at the battle of Lincoln, was

* Willis, Hist. Mitred Abbeys.

acknowledged Queen by the Bishop of Winchester.

Her haughty and impolitic conduct towards the citizens of London, her refusal to revive the Saxon laws and customs to which the English nation have ever been so attached, soon raised a party against her succession, and at the first appearance of a force under Stephen's Queen, Matilda, she was constrained to abandon the capital.

During the period of her acknowledged power as "Mistress or Lady" of the English, she issued the following mandate relative to our church, which is an historical demonstration of the exercise of her short-lived regal authority.

"The Empress, the daughter of Henry the King, Mistress of England, to Osbert, the Barons, the Sheriffs, and the Citizens of London, health. I command that you seise Henry Bishop of Winchester and Legate of the Apostolic See, of those houses and lands in London where Peter formerly dwelt, and which belonged to the deanery of Saint Martin, London, of which he and his church have been dis-seised, as Roger Bishop of Salisbury, Dean of the same church, and Fulcher, afterwards were seised of them, the day that they were living and dead, and their houses and all things which were taken away after the death of Roger cause ye to be restored to him, and the lands and all the appurtenances of the church of Saint Martin cause ye him to hold in peace. Witness, &c."

Stephen was soon after released from his bonds

in exchange for Robert Earl of Gloucester, the leader of Matilda's party, who had been made prisoner in a skirmish.

These civil commotions would have had a longer duration, as Stephen intended his son Eustace for his successor to the Crown, but for the sudden death of Eustace anno 1153. The Bishop of Winchester then became the mediator of a peace, by which it will be remembered, that the succession of the Crown was settled on the Empress Matilda's son, Henry Plantagenet.

Relative to Stephen's son Eustace and his ancestors, some documents are extant in the chartulary of St. Martin's.

His mother was Matilda, the daughter of the Count of Boulogne last-mentioned, who was brother of Godfrey and Baldwin, the martial leaders of the first crusade, and successively Kings of Jerusalem *.

To her, as heiress to the Counts of Boulogne, I think the following charter may be assigned; and that she may be distinguished from the Empress and Queen Matilda, by the style, "*Regina Angliæ*," the latter assuming, from her pretensions as Queen regnant, that of "*Domina Angliæ*," as has been seen.

" Matilda Queen of England, to Hubert the Chamberlain,

* Sandford, Gen. book i. c. vi.

and others, to her Clerk and Officers of Christhale, health. I command that the Canons of St. Martin's, London, hold their lands, men, and things, belonging to the Church of Mary at Christhale, peaceably and honourably; and that they have all customs and rights appertaining to the liberty of the church, in ways and outlets, and tithes, and in forest and plain land, as Richard of Bologne, or any priest in a better manner enjoyed them in the time of my father, or after, so that in this matter you shall do nothing to their injury or disgrace, because I will that they hold honourably. Witness, &c."

Eustace becoming Count of Boulogne in right of his mother. The claims which her ancestors had challenged in the possessions of Ingelric passed to her son, and constituted him the advocate of the collegiate church.

"Eustace, son of the King, and Earl of Bologne, to all his Barons and Vavasours, and tenants of Essex, health. Know ye, that I grant and confirm to the church of St. Martin, London, and its canons, the land of Massibi (Massebury), that half hide which Gist holds, which Richard the son of Hubert the Esquire gave to my father King Stephen. And I will and command that the church of St. Martin and its canons enjoy the same honourably and in peace, free and undisturbed, with soc, sac, tol, and theam, and infangenetheof, and all other free customs, with which my Barons and Vavasours better and more freely held them: as my father, King Stephen, and my mother, Matilda the Queen, gave to the church by the hand of Henry of Winchester, my uncle, and Dean of the Church of St. Martin, and this by the service of the fourth part of a knight's fee *, as the charter of the King and Queen attests. Witness, &c."

* It is hardly necessary to observe that the feudal tenure

Together with these should be noticed the charter of the king himself, addressed to the Bishop and citizens of London, distinguished by the style of Barons; "his Barons of Essex and Hertford, and all his faithful men and ministers, laymen and clerks, Franks and Angles," by which he grants to the Canons of St. Martin, all the liberties conceded by the Conqueror, and immunity from complaints of "damage or murder *."

Also the following, by which he assures to them a charter of *free-warren*, or property over game, in their lands in Essex. The appropriation of the "wild fowls of the air, and beasts of the field," still exists, in more modern and enlightened days.

"Stephen, by the Grace of God, King of England, to his Sheriff of Essex, and all his Barons and faithful men, Franks as well as Angles, health. Know that I have granted to the church of St. Martin, London, and its Canons, that they should

from the king in capite by military service, is here alluded to; the common relief or sum paid in commutation for the personal service of a knight was 100 shillings; the land allotted for this service was about 480 acres. After the Conquest, England was parcelled out into upwards 60,000 of these fees. It is easy to see what a powerful military force was thus placed at the command of the king by the strong tie of personal property.—See Kennet's Gloss. edit. 1816, p. 71.

* Implying an amercement for murder committed on their lands.

have warren * in their land of Estre, of Norton, Meldon, and Toleshunt, and that no one shall pursue or take a beast in it under forfeit of ten pounds."

The subjoined is sufficiently interesting to claim an insertion at length.

"Stephen King of England to Richard de Lucy the Justiciary, and Maurice the Sheriff of Essex, health. I command that you cause Henry of Winchester, my brother, and the Canons of St. Martin's, London, to have and to hold as justly, peaceably, and honourably, their marsh, which Ranulf de Venions gave, for the health of his soul, to the church of St. Mary of Maldon, from that land which King Henry granted and gave to him for his service, from the fee of Peverell † which he (the king) had in his demesne, as it was acknowledged and witnessed before Maurice the sheriff in the Hundred court of Maldon, and which they held in the time of King Henry, and on the day when he was dead and alive, and

* From the Saxon word *pepan* to guard or preserve.

† Ranulph de Peverell, one of the Conqueror's retainers, married Ingelrica, the daughter of the founder of our church. Being a woman of celebrated beauty, she attracted the notice of the Conqueror, and became his mistress: by her he had three sons; William, Governor of Dover Castle; Pain Peverel, Lord of Brun in Cambridgeshire; and William Peverel, Lord of Nottingham. She founded a college at Hatfield-Peverel, thus distinguished, as many other towns and villages in England are, by the cognomen of its Norman possessor. Her tomb, or rather, I suspect, from the print I have seen, a re-edification of her original tomb, is in the window of the church of that place.—Vide Gough's *Sepulch. Monum.* vol. i. part 1. p. 16. Camden's *Britann.* by Gibson, p. 346.

afterwards until the day when Walter, son of Gilbert *, set forward to Jerusalem ; and let them not be impleaded unjustly on this account, whilst Walter is absent from England, from whom they hold the said marsh, and do them full right for the violence and injury which they have sustained therein, taking care that my right be not forgotten, if there be any pertaining to me therein. Witness, Robert de Ver, at London."

It may be inferred from the letters of the noble Dean, to the era of whose jurisdiction these notices have arrived, that the town of Maldon, whose church, with its tithes and certain lands in its neighbourhood, as has been seen, were the property of our canons, was possessed by Theobald Earl of Blois, the brother of King Stephen, and that some houses at Maldon belonging to the foundation, had been alienated to the sons and daughters † of the officiating priest who had been its vicar.

" Henry, by the Grace of God, Bishop of Winchester, and Legate of the Apostolic See, to Robert de Newburgh, and the officers of Earl Theobald, health. Know ye, that the church of St. Martin, London, and all the things thereof appertain to me, wherefore I command you, that you shall cause the canons of the said place and their church, to be re-seised of the land

* Son of Gilbert, and grandson, I imagine, of Richard Fitz-Gilbert, Earl of Clare; the latter had possessions in Essex, and may be recollected witnessing the Conqueror's charter, under the title of Ricardus filius Gisleberti Princeps.

† The celibacy of the parochial clergy, enjoined by the Popes, met with great resistance in England, nor was it at this period completely established.

and houses held by them in burgage of the earl, of which Walter de Pinno dis-seised them for the sons and daughters of Wallace the priest, their vicar, as they were seised of the same in the time of King Henry, and in the time of the Bishop of Salisbury, and on the day on which Malden was given to the Earl, and whatever has been taken from them, be it restored and let them hold in peace, they rendering those customs in burgage to the Earl which they were wont to render in the time of King Henry."

To the time of King Stephen must be assigned two charters of Geoffrey de Magnaville or de Mandeville, an active and powerful adherent of Matilda, the Empress and Queen, and who was by her created Earl of Essex *. After the capture of King Stephen at the battle of Lincoln, Matilda, to avenge herself on the citizens of London for the attachment which they had shewn to his cause, made Geoffrey de Magnaville sole Justiciary of the City of London and the County of Middlesex, so that he became a

* The venerable Camden cites the charter of his creation as the earliest instance of that mode of conferring the dignity, which since the conquest had become feudal, hereditary, and patrimonial. As the document itself is short, I may be permitted to transcribe it. "I Matilda, the daughter of King Henry, Mistress of the Angles, give and grant to Geoffrey de Magnaville, for his service and to his heirs after him, hereditarily the Earldom of Essex, and that he have the third penny of the sheriff's court, issuing out of all pleas, as an Earl ought to receive from his county in all things."—Introduction to Britan. Gibson's edit. p. 174.

palatine ruler of the City and its vicinity, and no pleas could be held therein but under his immediate jurisdiction. The Tower of London and Sheriffwicks of London and Middlesex were let to him at a stipulated rent ; and for a time, under this tyrannical and haughty woman, the subjection and disfranchisement of the City was complete. While Geoffrey occupied the Tower under his imperial and royal mistress, he must have issued the following charter, in reparation of injuries which our church had sustained from him as Earl of Essex :

“ Geoffrey, by the Grace of God, Earl of Essex, and Justiciary of London, to Robert*, by the same Grace Bishop of London, and to the Archbishop, and all the Barons, and to all his men, tenants, and friends, of London and Essex, Clerks or Laymen, health. Forasmuch as I have greatly sinned, both by living badly, and have offended God by taking away without reason the goods of the church, I have determined, through repentance, in some manner to repair the undeserved losses of the church of St. Martin at London, and to satisfy the wish of the canons thereof ; therefore, agreeably to their petition, I grant, and for ever confirm to the church of St. Martin, London, the church of St. Mary of Newport, which for some time it possessed from the gift of Henry the King, of venerable memory, with the lands and tithes thereto belonging, according to his charter, moreover for the soul of King Henry himself, and for the souls of my father and mother, as also for the health and welfare of myself and of

* Robert de Sigillo held the see of London from 1140 to 1151.

Rohaisa my wife, and of my children, I grant and will, that henceforth the canons and their church of Newport have full tithe of my demesne, and of my demesne ploughlands of Newport, and from all the men of the said vill *, in corn and cattle, and all things of which tithe is accustomed to be given, and which ought reasonably to be given; and moreover, I give them two acres of waste, which the same church had before held in alms. And I will and grant, that the canons have again those their lands of Meldon and Godichester and Benefete, Norton, and Toleshunt, free from all works and aids, sheriffs and pleas, as they better, more freely, and peaceably, held them in the time of King Henry and afterwards. Witnesses, Rohaisa the Countess, my wife, William Archdeacon of London, and Walter his brother, and Gregory the Clerk, and Osbert the Clerk, William the Archdeacon, and William de Moching, and Richard the son of Osbert the Constable, and Gifford the Sheriff, and Ailwin the son of Lopstan, and Robert de Pont, and Hugh the son of Ulger, and Morice de Tiretête, at London, in the Tower, in the presence of the Monk † of Westminster."

The fortunes of De Magnaville declined with those of his mistress; and for his outrages to the holy Church he incurred the sentence of excommunication. Taken prisoner by Stephen at St. Alban's, and purchasing his liberty with the surrender of the Tower of London, and his castles

* The term *Vill*, in ancient writings has various acceptations; implying sometimes a manor, sometimes a cluster of houses insulated from the chief place in a parish, sometimes the legal division of the land, corresponding with the ecclesiastical, which constitutes a *Parish*.

† Who, perhaps, drew the instrument.

of Plashey and Walden in Essex, he still continued a partizan of Matilda. While besieging the castle of Burwell in Cambridgeshire he received a mortal wound in the head from a dart. Death before his eyes, with expected condemnation in the world to come from the sentence under which he laboured, his last moments were consoled by some Templars, whose order had been recently established ; they decorated him with their habit, while he repaid them with the donation of certain of his lands ; and though the rites of sepulture were more than they could lawfully bestow on their excommunicated benefactor, they in gratitude removed him to their house at London, and, wrapping his body in a winding sheet of lead, suspended it to a tree in their garden, leaving it in as dubious a state of final appropriation as the censures of the Church had in their opinion left his soul.

While under the effects of his mortal wound, or some previous bodily affliction, Geoffrey commanded, in letters addressed to his Bailiff of Essex, reparation to be made for some violence committed by his dependents on the possessions of the church of St. Martin, in its manor of Easter before named, and which from the holy purpose of its appropriation, had acquired the epithet of *Good*.

" Geoffrey Earl of Essex to Aelward de Wars, health. I command you, that laying aside all excuse and delay, as you tender my body and soul, that you restore to the Canons of St. Martin, of London, all their growing corn at Godicestre, every thing of theirs, which my men took from thence, or which may be found on my land, and let all their men and things from thenceforth enjoy from me undisturbed peace, because I have promised, on account of my infirmity, to satisfy the said Canons, and all the churches of God. And cause ye to be enquired by honest men of that neighbourhood *, if five acres of land which Walter Long holds, and whereof he hath dis-seised them, which they the said Canons claim, be of their tenure ; and if it shall be so acknowledged cause them to be re-seised thereof, and let them hold in peace, &c."

The progress of these notices must be necessarily desultory, from the varied matter of the original documents on which they form a commentary. I return to our Dean Henry de Blois, whose tergiversation in favour of the Empress was in all likelihood regarded with little complacency by his brother Stephen. The best excuse he could find to the King on renouncing her party, was in the popular idea of the faithful of that day, that the powers which prevailed were ordained of God, and should therefore, for the time, command the submission of all Christian people.

He evinced the royal stock of which he came, by his aspiring character, and attempted to exalt his See of Winchester over that of Canterbury,

* i. e. By a Jury of Inquisition.

on the plea of his being invested with legantine authority by the Pope.

This engaged him in a contest with Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, who, to display his superiority, had on his side, during the civil wars, placed the whole kingdom under an interdict, the first recorded instance of a similar measure in England ; and by this decree, so little consonant with a religion of perfect charity, the spiritual offices of the Church for the living, and the rites of sepulture for the dead, were suspended.

Towards the close of the reign of Stephen, the Bishop of Winchester wished to visit the monastery of Clugny in France, but Theobald his rival prevailed on the King to forbid him from quitting the realm. He, however, went, and incurred the seizure of his castles.

The second of the following writings must have been issued about this period, because it particularly mentions the absence of the Bishop beyond sea, and speaks of the deanery as if it were, for the time at least, vacant. It appears, however, consecutive with the letters of the Dean himself, claiming for his canons the land of Cripplegate, which the citizens of London had seized, and which finally the canons seem to have recovered by a process in the Court of the City itself.

Both these documents are subjoined.

“ Henry, by the Grace of God, Bishop of Winchester, and Legate of the Apostolic See, to the Justices, the Sheriffs, and all the Citizens, and all his friends of London, health. Although the welfare of the whole Church established throughout England, from the office we hold, belongs to our care, as well as that of the church of the blessed Martin over which we preside, yet the greater anxiety affects us on its account, inasmuch as it is manifest that it has long sustained unjust violence and spoliation of its things within and without the City of London. And although you have sufficiently heard what we in our common synod have enacted; and that we have, to deter others, delivered the spoilers of ecclesiastical possessions over to Satan; nevertheless we have treated you as dear friends, by entreating, warning, and advising, to the end that you allow the Canons of the said our church of St. Martin, London, to hold their land in peace; and above all permit them to re-establish their lands without Creplesgate, which the violence of certain persons of the said city hath destroyed; so that I may return you thanks, God may recompense you, and that you be not involved in the same sentence of Anathema by your consent to the injury done to the Church. Farewell.”

“ Stephen, by the Grace of God, King of England, to Richard de Lucy, and Tor the son of Berner his Justices of London, and the Sheriffs and officers of London, and Middlesex, health. I command that the canons of the church of St. Martin, hold well and in peace their land without Creplesgate according to their charters, as the hustings * by their judgment have di-

* The highest and most ancient Court of Record in the City of London, deriving its name from the Saxon *hustung*, i. e. a house for trial.

rected, and as they held it on the day when Henry Bishop of Winchester, formerly their Dean, crossed the sea, so that no one should disturb them on account of the works carried on in his land, nor any one do them wrong. And I grant that the stones which have fallen down from the city wall * into the way, between their land and the wall, shall be so collected together in the way near the wall, that the passage be no farther impeded. Witness, &c."

In the year 1154 King Stephen died, and was succeeded by Henry Plantagenet, who brought by the union of hereditary claims the dukedom of Normandy once more to the crown of England, and added to it by his matrimonial alliance with Eleanor of Guienne, the repudiated wife of Lewis the younger, the duchy of Guienne and earldom of Poitou.

Forming an alliance for his third son Geoffrey with Constantia the heiress of Bretagne, on the death of her father Conan, he took possession of that duchy in his son's name.

Thus England, which scarcely a century before had been prostrated at the foot of a foreign conqueror, now assumed a continental importance hitherto unknown in her annals; and although this subsequently involved her in various wars and disputes, they doubtless developed the

* This shews that the walls of London, which had existed from the Roman times, were in a very ruinous condition in the time King Stephen.

martial character of the people, polished them by foreign intercourse, and diverted the sword of her enemies from her sea-girt land to countries in the immediate vicinity of their own.

In 1158, the Bishop of Winchester still holding the deanery by the request of the canons, a particular Constitution of their Prebends was made under the sanction of their Dean, and William Earl of Boulogne, the advocate of their Church, third and only surviving legitimate son of King Stephen *.

CONSTITUTION OF THE PREBENDS.

“ In the year of the incarnation of our Lord 1158, King Henry the younger (Henry II.) reigning on the day of the festival of Pope Calixtus, the Constitution of the Prebends of St. Martin, London, was made by the advice and consent of Henry, by the grace of God, Bishop of Winchester, and William Earl of Boulogne, Advocate of the said church, at the petition of all the Canons, as follows : The prebend of the Lord the Dean is assigned in the church of Newport, and besides this, in the land of Tolleshunt 20s. The prebend of two Canons for the time being, namely, Richard de Montacute and Robert de Castle, are assigned in the land of the church of Maldon, with the tithes and other things appertaining to the said land. The prebend of Theold the Canon in the church of Christehale, with the lands, tithes, and all other things belonging to the said church, and moreover 10s. in Tolleshunt, and 10s. in Hoddesdon ; and the prebend of Robert of Corneville, in the

* Sandford, Genealog. Hist. in which he is distinguished from an illegitimate son of the same name.

lands which are within and without London, and which are worth 100s. Four prebends, namely, of Robert de Lunes, of the Chaplain of Angar, of Robert of Bolon, and of Master Bernard of Bolon, are assigned in the manor of Estre. And, moreover, they shall have of the wood of Norton (sufficient) to construct and repair their houses and supply their hearths, and each year they shall have in the same 40 hogs, without paying pannage. The prebend of Richard Lothar is assigned in Norton, and the land of Selga, and he shall have of the wood Norton to build and repair his houses and supply his hearths. But he shall neither sell nor give away any thing that is in the said wood : and the forester who shall be placed in the forest, shall be sworn by the four Canons of Estre, that he shall not appropriate any thing, or give or sell any thing of the wood without their consent. If, moreover, it shall chance that the King or the Advocate of St. Martin shall assess any thing on the vill of Easter, the men of Norton shall join with the men of Estre according to their tenures.

The church of Maldon is assigned for lights and other matters appertaining to the church of St. Martin. But the lands within and without London, except those assigned as prebends for the Canons, are assigned to the community of Canons residing in the church. And besides these the churches of Witham, and the chapel of Burhunt, and the tithes of Tolleshunt, and whatever besides may accrue to the church. And if any of the Canons residing in the church should desire to be absent on their business at four periods in the year, it may be granted on this condition, that he shall not tarry from the church more than fifteen days, unless he can shew sufficient excuse. If, however, he shall make a custom of staying beyond the rule, a Clerk shall be placed in the church in his stead. Moreover, the Canons who do not frequent the church shall find proper Vicars for themselves in the church, and each Canon shall give to his vicar annually two marks at the four

quarters of the year, also to the community of the Canons one mark of silver, and towards the work of the church half a mark; but if any Canon be absent for the purpose of study, he shall give for the community of Canons but half a mark, and towards the work of the church half a mark. And besides this the tithe of the demesne of Estre* is given to the work of the church."

The obsequious rise of Becket through the secular to the highest station of ecclesiastical power in England, in which, so far from aiding the just design of Henry to limit the extravagant privileges of the clergy, he became their most zealous champion, has been the common topic of every historian, and has arrested the notice of the most general reader.

Henry de Blois our Dean was naturally, as a churchman, favourable to the cause of Becket, and is said to have sharply reprov'd his nephew for his conduct towards the Archbishop.

Becket's name is found in two instruments relative to the affairs of our church, one of which enjoins obedience to the Canons from their Dean, the other restricts the Archdeacon, &c. of Essex from the undue exercise of his authority in the churches belonging to our foundation.

* In Morant's History of Essex will be found circumstantial particulars of the possessions of the church of St. Martin's in that County, so frequently recited in these ancient writings.

" Thomas, by the Grace of God, Archbishop, Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolic See, to the whole Chapter of St. Martin's, London, health. We have received the mandate of our Lord the Pope for preserving and protecting all which by any right is allowed to belong to the jurisdiction of the church of Winchester, and our venerable brother the Lord of Winchester. We therefore command, and by the authority of these present letters enjoin, that ye shall obey the aforesaid Bishop as your Dean; and him to whom he shall commit his authority in that church, &c."

" Thomas, by the Grace of God, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England, to his Archdeacon and Dean of Essex, health. Our sons the Canons of St. Martin's in London, have complained to us, that you oppress with intolerable exactions and services their church of Maldon, and on that account you interdict their church and suspend their priest, which is manifestly by no means lawful for you to do against the Canons. Whatever besides episcopal rights have been exacted from this or other churches, is cruel; moreover it is unreasonable that you should thus interdict churches and priests for these temporal matters, unless the evident fault of the priest or other reason require it. Now therefore we altogether forbid ye all to exact from them any thing more than episcopal rights; and if divine offices have been interdicted through your exactions, or their priest suspended, let him be released, and divine service performed in the church Farewell."

In the year 1171 Henry de Blois died, and the same year was rendered remarkable for the murder, or, as it was afterwards construed, martyrdom of Thomas à Becket, on the ground of a passionate expression which King Henry let fall.

This Dean of St. Martin's acted, as has been seen, a great political part in his day, and his character appears to have been distinguished by some noble qualities. His charity is said to have been of the most liberal description, the effects of which are extended to these later days by the existence of that venerable foundation, the Hospital of St. Cross at Winchester. The architecture of the church of St. Cross is the most beautiful specimen of the style employed in the early part of the twelfth century which has descended to modern times. He built also the castle of Wolvesey at Winchester, his citadel in the wars between Stephen and Matilda, now a mouldering ruin; he erected the castle of Farnham, still the chief residence of the Bishops, enriched the monastery of Malmsbury, and improved the nunnery of Taunton, founded by his predecessors. His legatine authority from the Pope, his desire to exalt his See of Winchester over that of Canterbury, has been before noticed, and he is also said to have enjoyed the dignity of a Cardinal *.

Godfrey de Lucy, son of the Justiciary, next succeeded to the Deanery. In the course of his life he enjoyed considerable power and preferment; he was not only Dean of St. Martin's,

* Godwin de Præsul. Milner's History of Winchester.

but of St. Paul's *, Archdeacon of Derby, a Canon of York, and one of the Justices itinerant. In the year 1189, he was promoted to the See of Winchester; the custody of the royal castle of which city he procured to be confided to the Bishops of the See. He considerably augmented the Priory of Lesnes, in Kent, founded by his brother the Justiciary. To him, I conjecture, is addressed, the following papal bull †, in which the Bishop of Rome

* Some curious particulars of his sacerdotal robes and ornaments in this office are to be found in Dugdale, in a singularly interesting inventory of the contents of the Treasury of St. Paul's Cathedral, taken anno 1295. His cope is described as of red velvet embroidered with pikes or lances in allusion to his name, and with a representation of the root of Jesse.—Vid. Dugd. Monast. vol. iii. p. 309.

† It is difficult, in the absence of the original instrument, to determine whether this be a bull of Alexander II. who was Pope from 1061 to 1073, with whom Geoffrey or Godfrey, who was Dean soon after the Conquest, might have been contemporary, or of Alexander III. who held the papal See from 1159 to 1181. On the term bull, from *bulla*, a metal ornamented boss, it may be observed that to seal with metal was reckoned an illustrious privilege, consequently the Roman Pontiffs' seals or bulls were commonly affixed to their more solemn public instruments impressed in lead, sometimes in gold. The apostolic bulls were sealed therefore, in metal, bearing the impress of St. Peter and St. Paul; the briefs, in wax, with the impress of a circle, called the Fisherman's ring.—Vide Spelman's Glossary; Moreri, Dict. Histor. art. *Bulle*.

takes on himself the power to confirm the immunities of the foundation, exempts it from all minor spiritual and secular jurisdiction, declares its cemetery a place of free sepulture for those not excommunicated or under an interdict, and provides, that when the land itself be under a general interdict, it should be lawful for the canons of St. Martin's to celebrate divine service within their walls. Some papal bulls anterior to this period have been unnoticed, as they contained nothing but a general confirmation of the privileges and possessions of our church; and it may be presumed that they were promulgated generally, more for the sake of the dues accruing from the issue of such instruments to the See of Rome, than for any peculiar benefit they could assure to the foundation in whose favour they were made. A similar remark may apply to the reiterated confirmation of royal charters, for which a certain remuneration was made from religious establishments to the crown.

“Alexander the Bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to his dear brethren, Geoffrey Dean of St. Martin's, London, and his brethren, present as well as future, canonically instituted, health. Forasmuch as the force of equity and the order of reason requires us to grant efficiency to those who require their rights, more especially when piety directs the wish of the petitioners, and truth is not forsaken, wherefore we

have mercifully assented to the just petitions of our dear brother in the Lord, and have taken under the blessed Peter's and our own protection the aforesaid church, and by the present writings strengthen it with privilege, enacting that whatever possessions and goods the said church at present justly and canonically possesses, or through God's furtherance, may in future enjoy by the grant of Pontiffs, the largess of Kings, or Princes, the oblations of the faithful, or by other just means, shall remain firm and untouched to you and your successors. For which purpose we have thought fit to express them in these their proper names; the church of Newport, with all its appurtenances, and the vill of Godichester, with all its appurtenances: Moreover, we grant and confirm to you and your church, by apostolic authority, all other churches, chapels, and exempt possessions which you reasonably hold, except such liberties, immunities, and reasonable customs, as are assigned to the Holy See itself; we hold and consecrate them to remain firm and untouched for all future times. Moreover, we by our apostolic authority, prohibit that it should be lawful for any one to disquiet your church either in its head or members, or the servants of the said church, or its chapels, by undue molestations or oppressions, or to impose on them undue exactions; also we have decreed, that the sepulture of the said place shall be free, and that no one shall oppose the devotion and last will of those who shall desire to be buried therein, unless, perchance, they be excommunicate or interdict, saving the rights of those churches by which the bodies of the deceased are claimed. Moreover, when there shall be a general interdict over the land, it shall be lawful for you, your gates being shut, excommunicated and interdicted persons excluded, your bells not being rung, to celebrate divine service in a suppressed voice. We have decreed that it shall be lawful for no man whatever unadvisedly to disturb the said church, or to carry off its possessions, or, being carried off, to retain, diminish, or trouble them with any vexations;

but all things shall be preserved uninjured and entire, belonging to them, for whose support and to whose government they were assigned, for their advantage in all uses; holding safe the authority of the Apostolic See. If, therefore, in future any ecclesiastical or secular person shall, knowingly, attempt to impede this our charter of constitution, being warned the second and third time, unless he shall atone for his presumption by making due satisfaction of power and honour, let him beware of his desert, and know that he stands guilty in divine judgment of the wickedness committed. Let him become an alien from the body and blood of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, and in his hopeless last hour, let him lie under impending vengeance. But to all those who shall preserve the rights of the said church, be the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, so that they may enjoy the fruits of their good actions here, and, on impending judgment, may meet the reward of eternal peace. Amen, &c."

Under the jurisdiction of Godfrey de Lucy, a certain tenement was granted and released to our church by one Geoffrey Martel. The form of this donation is interesting, and has been quoted by an eminent legal antiquary as an example of the common law form of livery of seisin, the antient mode of transferring the fee simple of property. I give that portion of Geoffrey Martel's charter which has been accessible to me.

"And that this recognition of the right of the church of the blessed Martin in the said tenement, may remain unchangeable for ever, I have proceeded to the hustings-court, and there in full hustings I have proclaimed the said land

wholly free and quiet * to the church of the blessed Martin, and I have since confirmed the recognition of right, and the right itself of the church of the blessed Martin in the said tenement, by this my Charter, and I have strengthened it by the attestation of this my seal. Witness, Eustace Martel, &c. &c. with the whole hustings."

Henry the Second, in his letters, nearly recapitulates those of Henry the First, already noticed, with the following additional clause:

"And we forbid that the canons of St. Martin's be impleaded out of their own court, except before ourselves and our Chief Justice, because we have granted them a free court of all their men and tenants."

Some officers of the See of Canterbury, most probably belonging to the Arches Court, having cited before them, at the suit of Henry, rector of St. Leonard's church †, Herbert canon and proctor of St. Martin's, the King issues his injunction to stop the proceedings, as being in breach of his royal privileges, and declares his intention of settling the matter in dispute, the subject of which does not appear, by an appeal to the Holy See.

* The phrase employed in the original Latin, *clamare quietam*, to proclaim quiet, furnishes us with the direct etymology of the legal phrase to quit claim.

† Which was within the precinct of St. Martin's; see forward, under Dean Kyrkeham.

“ Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, to the Prior of St. Gregory’s, Canterbury, and the Dean of the said city, health. Forasmuch as Henry, Rector of the church of St. Leonard, brings into cause before you, Herbert, a Canon of St. Martin’s, London, Proctor of the said church, on account of certain things relating to the state and liberty of the church aforesaid, which are comprised within the charge of the said Herbert, concerning which, if sentence should be given against the said Proctor, an evident injury might be prepared against us, who are the father of the said church, which is our free chapel, exempt from all episcopal jurisdiction. Proceed ye, therefore, no farther in the said cause against the Dean and Chapter of the said church or their Proctor, whilst we appeal to the Pope, constituting William de Wakering, chaplain, our Proctor for appealing; purposing to hold as ratified whatever the said William, by appeal, may do in your favour. Witness ourself at Windsor, the sixth day of May, in the 22d year of our reign.”

In 1177, the 24th of the reign of Henry II. William of St. Mary’s (*de Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesiâ*) succeeded in the deanery; he was also a canon of St. Paul’s Cathedral, and some time secretary to Henry’s son and successor, the chivalric champion of the holy sepulchre, Richard Cœur de Lion. In 1199, the last of Richard’s reign, he was constituted Bishop of London. He was one of those prelates who, in the subsequent reign of John, published the bull of Innocent III. by which the whole kingdom was placed under an interdict, and who, soon

after, by the same authority, pronounced the king excommunicate.

About the time of Richard the First, letters were addressed from the canons of St. Martin's to the guild and fraternity of the Sadlers of London, which, expressed in terms of the closest fraternity and good fellowship, recite, that it was of old appointed between the canons and the community of sadlers, that the latter should be brothers and participators in all the benefits arising by day or night, in the masses, psalms, prayers, and vigils, performed in the collegiate church; besides which, the canons granted to the guild, two especial masses weekly, wherein its members were to be prayed for by name; one mass was to be for the living, the other for the departed brethren of the fraternity. They were allowed also, freely and honourably, the service of the bells of the church, procession of the priests and choir, and use of the cemetery, or in the language of the poet:—

“ The bringing home of bell and burial.”

The canons were moreover to assist them, as brothers and faithful coadjutors, by their help and counsel in all exigent affairs. The community is then reminded that they of old on their accustomed visits to the church on St. Martin's day, made a largess called *saul soch*,

or a payment for the benefit derived to their souls by the orisons before recited. Also that on the receiving the corpse of a brother of the guild, and the bells being rung to celebrate his obsequies, a fee was contributed to the church of eight pence.

Richard Cœur de Lion was succeeded on the plea of the elective descent of the crown in the royal stock, by his brother John, instead of by Arthur his nephew, and heir by direct hereditary descent.

The character of John has descended to posterity in the very dubious light afforded by the pens of monkish historians. One chief cause of his continued troubles and misfortunes, seems to have been an endeavour to shake off the assumed government of the Pope in the English church, an attempt for which the minds of his subjects were not yet ripe, and which was so much more successfully put in practice by one of his successors on the English throne, three centuries after.

A charter of John supplies me with the name of Richard Briger as Dean of St. Martin's, at the beginning of his reign. This Dean is unnoticed by any other authority which I have consulted.

The charter itself is ample, and contains too many antient terms of privilege to be passed

over by a mere incidental notice. It seems to have been granted while the king was yet in France, and is witnessed by some of those persons who were greatly instrumental in his accession to his brother's throne.

“John, by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitain, Earl of Anjou, to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbats, Deans, Archdeacons, Earls, Barons, Justices, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Ministers, and all his faithful subjects, health. Know ye, that we have given and granted, and by this our present charter confirmed, to Richard Briger our dear and faithful clerk, the deanery of the church of St. Martin, within the city of London, with the gift of prebends, churches, and all appurtenances. Wherefore we will and strictly enjoin, that the said Richard, our dear and faithful clerk, have and hold the aforesaid deanery with the gift of prebends and churches, and with free administration of all things appertaining to the said church of St. Martin, peaceably, freely, quietly, fully, and wholly, with soc and sac, and tol and team, and infangentheof, with all its other liberties, free customs, and acquittances in wood and in plain, in ways and paths, in fields, meadows, and pastures, in waters and mills, in stews, pools, and fisheries, in moors and marshes, in granges and plantations, within borough and without, and in all other places and things belonging to the aforesaid deanery and church of St. Martin. We also command that the lands, and all the demesne tenures, and all the men of the said church of St. Martin, be quit of all shires and hundreds, from suit of shires and hundreds, and from wapentach, and gift of money in forfeit, and from murder* and theft, and from geld and dane-geld, and from hidage and assizes, .

* See note, p. 54.

and from works of castles and walls, ditches and gates, bridges and highways, and from wastes and regards, and assarts and pleas of the forest, and from fredwite and hangwite, and flemenfrethe, and hamsocne, and blodwite, and fightwite, and leer-wite, and hundred-peny, and ward-peny, and haver-peny, and from keepings of watch, and portage, and passage, and lastage, and tallage, and stallage, and toll, scutage, and from all secular exaction and service, and servile work, and from all pleas, complaints, actions. and secular customs. Witnesses, Eustace Bishop of Ely, Simon Archdeacon of Wells, Master Roger de St. Edmund our Chaplain, Baldwin Earl of Albe-marle, William Marischal Earl of Pembroke, Robert son of Walter, John de Pracells, Peter de Pracells, Warren son of Gerald, Peter de Stokes. Given by the hand of Hugh our Archbishop of Canterbury, at Roche Aurivalle, the 29th day of June, in the first year of our reign."

Godfrey de Bocland was instituted Dean in 1216, the last year of the reign of King John. The only document I have found relative to his administration of the affairs of our church, is a charter, by which a dispute was compromised between William de la Tour, a Canon of St. Martin's, and the Prioress and Nuns of the monastery of Wikes, concerning some tithes which they claimed in the parish of Malden, in Essex, to the injury, it may be presumed, of the canons' prebendal dues.

"To all the faithful in Christ, to whom the present writing shall come, Godfrey de Bocland the Dean, and the Chapter of the blessed Martin, send health, eternal in the Lord. Know all ye, that forasmuch as there has been contention between William de la Tour, our Canon, and the Prioress and Nuns of Wikes relative to the tithes of the island which is within

the parish of the church of the blessed Mary of Malden; it is thus appeased: Know that we have granted, that all the tithes of the aforesaid island shall remain to the Prioress and Nuns above-mentioned, reserving to the said church of Malden, thirty sheaves and the moiety of all the smaller tithes of the sheep walk * within the island aforesaid, and that this our grant should obtain most lasting strength we have appended our seal thereto; these being witnesses, Gustavus de Fauconberg, Alexander de Lucy, Master Stephen Croc, Master Reginald de Wroth, Master Anketel, Godfrey and Philip, Chaplains. Farewell †.



* Bercaria, from the French Bergerie.

† From the original charter in the Chapter House of Westminster. This, with the record subsequently noticed, belonged I suppose to the muniments of the nunnery of Wikes. A charter of Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, is preserved with these deeds, by which he confirms to the nuns, the island at Malden, as being of the gift of Maurice de Windsor and Alerand de Wales. I am indebted to Mr. Caley for access to these and other documents in his custody. This gentleman is

To this document is affixed the Collegiate Seal as above, representing the patron saint attired in his episcopal robes; surmounted by the pall, a nimbus of glory round his head, holding the pastoral staff, in his left hand; he is giving the benediction with his right. This writing is accompanied by another precisely to the same effect in the name of the Canon William de la Tour himself, whose own private seal affixed, is a rebus of his name, being a representation of the White Tower of London, surmounted by a heart; the legend when perfect, SIGILLUM WILLELMI DE TURRI*.



well known among antiquaries for his valuable collection of drawings from the seals of English Monasteries, and for the liberal and cheerful aid which he has ever afforded to historians of those antient establishments.

* William de la Tour would be his familiar appellation, as the Norman French was commonly employed in surnames, when they would admit it. A daughter of Edward the Third was named *Blanch de la Tour* from the place of her birth. A similar circumstance gave, perhaps, this William his cognomen.

This seal is further remarkable for having on its reverse a fine antique intaglio of Greek workmanship, representing Hercules; which shows that objects of this kind were not neglected at an early period by our ancestors.

The pretensions of Lewis the Dauphin to the Crown of England, which he asserted in person about the close of John's reign, were successfully resisted by the spirit of the nation, and by the noble and patriotic Earl of Pembroke, who having seated Henry, the son of John, on the throne, directed as Regent during his minority, the councils of the kingdom, with a view to the freedom of the subject and honour of the throne. On his death the pernicious counsel of Peter de Roches, or de Rupibus, the Bishop of Winchester, the weakness and arbitrary inclinations of the king, his patronage of foreigners, the shameless arts and exactions of the See of Rome, involved the kingdom in civil wars between the King and his Barons. The consequences of these contests were, however, ultimately beneficial to the people, the provisions of the great charter were maintained, and the constitution of representatives for the Commons at large seems first to have taken place at this time, when writs were issued for representatives of each shire and borough town to assist at the great council of the nation. Parliaments appear previously to have been wholly com-

posed of the feudatory Barons of the Realm and dignitaries of the church.

Godfrey de Bocland was succeeded by Luke, a Chaplain of Henry III. who, in 1228, was elected Archbishop of Dublin. Then followed Walter de Kyrkeham presented by the letters patent of the King to the Constable of the Tower of London, directing the constable to put him in full possession of the deanery.

Walter de Kyrkeham appears to have been actively employed in the improvement of the buildings of the college, and most probably repaired the collegiate church*.

The Pointed Style of architecture which had been adopted in England, early in the former

* In a former part of these notices, I have described the westernmost range of some antient vaults discovered on the site of the collegiate church; east of these was another crypt consisting of three ranges of intersecting groined circular arches, supported by as many rows of pillars of Petworth marble, some octagon, some circular in form, and of light and elegant construction. I considered these as of the time of Dean Kyrkeham, and that this was the crypt of a chapel dedicated probably to the Virgin, and which might stand behind the high altar of the collegiate church. The foundations of a wall, at least six feet in thickness, marked the limits of this crypt. The public flocked daily, by hundreds, to see these remains, which though not before unknown, having been used as cellars to the houses above, were now first exposed to the light of day, and through the medium of the daily papers introduced to general notice.

century, was now employed in all its elegant simplicity.

In the following century, during the reign of the third Edward, a more decorative, but still beautiful mode was introduced, and in the fifteenth century our national architecture imitated, in the florid exuberance of its ornaments, the minutiae of lace-work ; minarets, battlements, and intersecting arches were fretted in a style which gave to stone something of the appearance of a rich and gorgeous vegetation.

“ Great, indeed, was the glory ” of our English Gothic architecture, as its numerous beautiful remains every where testify. Much has been said as to its use : many have been of opinion that the fortuitous intersection of circles produced the pointed arch. Perhaps the most plausible conjecture is, that it derived its origin from the east, and reached us through the means of the first crusaders *. The uniformity of style of

* In the *Myvyrian Archæology*, a collection of antient writings in the old British tongue, relative to the History of Wales, is a statement that Richard Granville, a Norman knight, on his return from the Holy Land, founded the Abbey of Neath ; that he brought with him an architect from the land of Canaan, called Lalys, who constructed the most celebrated castles and monasteries in Wales, and afterwards went to London, and became architect to King Henry the First ; that he taught his art to many of the Welsh and English. The eminent traveller, Dr. Clarke, states that he saw

architecture which pervaded Europe in the Middle Ages, may perhaps be ascribed to the existence of a fraternity of itinerant architects and workmen, the memory of which is perpetuated in the Society of Freemasons, in which persons of all nations, I believe, still unite as brethren.

In 1235 the Dean and Chapter of St. Martin's complained to the King, that the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, obstructed their privileges, denied the jurisdiction of their courts over their tenants, impleaded and compelled them to answer vexatious pleas in the city courts : upon which Henry addressed his brief to the civic officers, commanding that the collegiate church should be suffered freely to exercise all such privileges as she had heretofore enjoyed.

About the year 1236 Kyrkeham founded within the college precinct, the small parish church of St. Leonard *, which had previously

at St. Jean de Acre, an edifice attributed to the time of the crusaders, in the Pointed style of architecture; and another of the same class, he designates as one of the finest structures in the Holy Land.—Vide the Itinerary of Giraldus Cambrensis, by Sir R. C. Hoare, annot. on chap. viii. p. 103. Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 381, 407.

* St. Leonard's church was erected at the south-east end of St. Martin's, abutting on St. Vedast's or Foster-lane; it was afterwards re-edified by one John Brockitwell, as I conjecture,

stood within the collegiate church, a circumstance of which there are parallel examples*.

Roger Niger, Bishop of London, with the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, objected to this arrangement as in prejudice of the episcopal rights of the See of London. It was at length agreed between the parties, that the Dean and Canons of St. Martin should proceed with the building of the church of St. Leonard; that the parishioners should resort to it as their parish church, remaining subject to the Bishop and Archdeacon of London, and paying all customary dues with other parishes in the diocese; that the rector of St. Leonard's should be presented by the

in the 14th century, and totally destroyed in the great conflagration of 1666. In recently excavating the site of St. Leonard's church, as part of the ground-plot of the New Post-office, numerous reliques of human mortality were taken up and removed to another cemetery in the neighbourhood, under the direct provisions of the act for providing a site for the New Post-office. Various fragments of Gothic architecture, as finials, crockets, &c. were thrown out of the earth, with several ornamented glazed tiles, which had formed an elegant pavement for the church, when the patterns were in corresponding connection. The following inscription surmounted, in 1818, the gate of its little precinct. "Before the dreadful fire, A. D. 1666, here stood the parish church of St. Leonard, Foster-lane." After this fire, the parish was united to Christ Church.

* The church of St. Margaret, Westminster, anciently stood in the south aisle of the abbey.—Stow's Chron. by Howes, p.97.

Dean and Canons, and instituted by the Bishop of London*.

To Walter de Kyrkeham was addressed the Charter of Henry the Third †, similar in terms to that of John. Least I should tire my reader by monotonous repetition of these instruments, I shall not translate it here; but refer him to the original Latin, in the *Additamenta* subjoined to these pages. The King also took St. Martin's under his especial protection, as his free chapel, by his letters patent, nearly resembling those already given at length under Henry I.

I find the following papal Bull of Innocent the Third among the archives of our church, addressed, I apprehend, to King Henry in the early part of his reign. The exemptions that it assigns to the royal chapels were of course applicable to St. Martin's. The fulminations with which these instruments are closed, will appear, I think, to the humble Christian to savour strongly of blasphemy, and he will wonder at such maledictions from the mouth of him who assumed that he was the vicar of that blessed teacher on earth, who had repressed every feeling of revenge in his disciples, even

* Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. i. p. 392.

† A beautiful copy of this charter is preserved in the Cotton Library, Claudius D. 2. fol. 130.

in a just cause, as being incompatible with the spirit with which they were to be imbued *.

“ Innocent the Bishop, the Servant of the Servants of God, to his dear brother in Christ, the King of England, health and apostolic benediction. So much the more freely we benignly yield our assent to the prayers of your Highness, as we especially esteem you among Kings and Christian Princes. Therefore, dear and devoted son, inclining to your supplications, we restrain and forbid that any ordinary, delegate, or sub-delegate, should presume to pronounce any sentence of excommunication or interdict in the royal chapels or oratories, attached to the same, which are immediately subjected to the Roman Church, or to impose any thing on them which is not usual to be imposed upon other exempt churches, without such special command of the Apostolic See as shall especially refer to this inhibition. It shall be lawful for no one to contravene or infringe in any manner, by his rash daring, this our page of inhibition. If any one, however, should presume to attempt it, let him know that he rightfully incurs the indignation of Almighty God, and of the blessed Peter and Paul. Given, &c.”

Walter de Kyrkeham was succeeded in 1244, by Guido de Russillon or de Russel. Kyrkeham became Dean of York, and ultimately Bishop of Durham, in the administration of which See he died A. D. 1260. The following precept relates to the office of de Russel :

“ Henry, by the Grace of God, &c. to the Sheriff of ~~Essex~~, health. We command that ye vex not, nor permit to be vexed, Guy de Russel, Dean of St. Martin the Great, of Lon-

* See Luke, chap. ix. v. 55, 56.

don, and the Canons of the said church, and the men to them belonging, contrary to the liberties which we have granted to them by our charter ; but that ye shall uphold, protect, and defend them in the same, least by your negligence, repeated, a complaint may reach us in the above matter."

Guido de Russel died at Bordeaux in 1254, perhaps in attendance on the King's person as his chaplain, or in some other office, Henry being himself that year at Bordeaux.

Hugh was his successor, instituted about 1253 ; he appears to have been by office the King's procurator-general for foreign parts. His administration, however, affords me but the following solitary document :

"To his illustrious Lord Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy, Earl of Anjou and Aquitain, Hugh G. Dean of St. Martin, procurator-general for acting in foreign parts, sends all manner of reverence and submission. Be it known to your Excellency, that D. of such a place, and R. of such a place, have, by requisition of their faults, remained bound for more than forty days, in the sentence of the major * and minor excommunication, wickedly despising

* The major excommunication deprived its object of all power of giving or receiving the sacraments of the Catholic church, of the rites of sepulture in consecrated ground, and of all ecclesiastical advantages whatever, spiritual or temporal. The minor excommunication withheld from the excommunicated person the sacraments, holy orders, and any power of performing ecclesiastical functions, but not the other advantages of Christian communion, as assisting at mass or divine service.

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the authority of the keys. Wherefore I pray your Highness that you compel them to make satisfaction according to the custom of the realm, by caption of their persons. May your Excellency ever prosper. Given at London, on the eve of Pentecost, A. D. 1253."

Henry de Wengham, afterwards Bishop of London, was the next Dean, the date of whose institution does not appear. He was Chancellor of England, Chamberlain of Aquitaine, and twice employed in an embassy to France. When the king's half-brother Athelmar, who had been shamefully thrust into the Bishopric of Winchester, sought, with a host of foreign locusts, refuge by flight from public indignation, the See which Athelmar had abandoned was proffered to Henry de Wengham, by the election of the Monks of Winchester, who feared to chuse any but an adherent of the Court. Wengham, however, declined to fill the office, leaving the See and its revenues in the King's hands, who kept it vacant four years. Wengham, accepted soon after, the See of London, and died in 1261, when he had enjoyed it about two years *.

A. D. 1262, William de Champont was preferred to the Deanery by the King. In 1265, Henry constituted him his procurator to the court of Rome, to represent the injuries which,

* Godwin de Præsul. p. 224.

he sustained by the disturbances in his realm, the fruit of his own oppression, and mal-administration of the regal office. This Dean had various other ecclesiastical preferments, and was promoted in the time of Edward the First to a bishopric.

The battle of Evesham, in 1265, restored the King to his liberty, which he had lost in the preceeding year at Lewes. The moderate use which Prince Edward his son made of these successes, and the high promise of his character, tranquillized the latter years of this long and troublesome reign ; and Edward ascended the throne of his father with merited popularity, A. D. 1272.

Lewis de Sabaudia, or of Savoy, was the next in the succession of the Deans ; he is styled in Edward's letters, his cousin, whether from diplomatic form or acknowledged consanguinity I am unable to determine. Peter de Sabaudia, of whose residence in England the spot called the Savoy is still a memorial, was uncle to the King's mother. Lewis de Sabaudia was made a prebend in the church of St. Patrick, Dublin, in 1278 ; and William de Melton must have succeeded in the same year to our deanery, as appears from the following mandate of the King to the Sheriffs of London, directing them to imprison the priest of St. Botolph's, who had

been excommunicated for some contumacious act towards the Dean of St. Martin's, to whose jurisdiction his church was subjected:

"Edward, by the Grace of God, &c. to the Sheriffs of London, health. Our dearly beloved William de Melton, Dean of our free chapel of St. Martin the Great, of London, has signified to us, by his letters patent, that Richard de Medhurst, vicar of the church of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, London, which is immediately subjected to the jurisdiction of our said chapel, has been excommunicated on account of his manifest contumacy, and will not justify himself by ecclesiastical censure. Wherefore, because royal power should not be wanting to succour the most Holy Church in her complaints, we command that you do justice upon the said Richard, by his body until he shall have made satisfaction for the contempt which he has injuriously done to her. Witness, ourself at Westminster, this 28th day of July, in the 7th year of our reign."

As sentence of excommunication was passed against Medhurst for his offence. I shall subjoin the form of a similar fulmination, as I find it in the archives of our church.

SENTENCE OF EXCOMMUNICATION.

"By the authority of God, the Almighty Father, and, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, of Mary the mother of God, and of all heavenly spirits, of the blessed Peter, chief of the apostles, to whom God hath given power of binding and loosing, and of the other apostles, and of all the saints of God, as also of St. Martin, in whose honour this present church is founded, many of the relics of which saints, and of holy canons, are herein venerated. We excommunicate, and anathematize,

and curse, and banish, and expel, from the children of the holy Mother Church, and from all Christian society, A. B. and all consenting to him, whose wicked rage and violence directed against us and the church of God we have so often sustained. Let them be accursed in the town and in the field, in entering and going out; let them be accursed in their houses, eating or drinking, sleeping or waking; let them be accursed by land or by water, accursed in sitting or standing, in working or reposing; let them be accursed in every place, in all their works, in their outward limbs and their entrails, from the sole of the foot, to the crown of their head, let there be no soundness in them; let their way be dark and slippery, their children orphans, and their wives widows, the angel of the Lord chastising them; let their fate and their portion be with Sathan and Abiron, who went down into hell alive; and with Judas the betrayer of God, and with those who said to God, depart from us, we have not known thy ways; let their bodies be as leprous as King Uzziah and Miriam the sister of Moses; be they also on account of their demerits struck with St. Anthony's fire; and for their multiplied misdeeds and impenitent hearts let them be consumed by the judgment of heaven: as these candles * are extinguished so may their souls be extinguished; let them be delivered over from the help of God to the eternal company of the devils whom they served here on earth, unless they make condign reparation of the injuries and violence done to us and to our Church. So be it; so be it; Amen."

How humiliating and severe was the penance required to remove these horrid and presumptuous maledictions from the party who had in-

* The tapers held by the ecclesiastics during the publication of this sentence were at these words thrown down on the floor.

curred them, may be gathered from the following penitential letters of a citizen of London, who had been excommunicated on account of the misprisions he had committed against our foundation. Their proper chronological order I have been unable to ascertain, as the transcript is without date:

“ To all the faithful of Christ who shall see or hear these letters, A. Scott of London, sends health in the Lord. Know all ye, that forasmuch as the Prior of Offington, with others the Commisaries of Thorney and Croyland abbeys, conservators of the Dean and Chapter of St. Martin's, London, have bound me, on account of my manifest and multiplied acts of contumacy, with the chain of the minor and major excommunication, and Master the Archdeacon of London, the Official and Dean of the Arches, London, in solemn procession, with ringing of bells and lighted candles, have commanded due execution thereof to be made throughout their jurisdiction, I have at length, of right, submitted to the said church of St. Martin in all things, having looked on and touched the holy gospels in token of my fidelity and honour to the said church, promising to restore, at my own cost, the goods thereof, which I, by adopting evil counsel, had invaded. Moreover, for the offence which I imprudently and wrongfully have committed against the state of the said church and its canons, I promise that I will undertake three solemn disciplines in the following form: First, being stripped to the waist in the porch of my parish church, I will proceed with contrition of heart to the church of Saint Martin on a week day, going in procession all round the circuit of the cloister to the nave of the church, and there prostrate before the tomb of John de Burg, formerly Procurator of the said church, I will publicly acknowledge the offences by which I have injured the Dean

and his church, and will crave pardon ; and the second and third time I will acknowledge my offence in my own parish church, in similar procession of clerks and parishioners, unless my undertaking shall be remitted by the canons aforesaid. I also will and grant, that the said canons shall signify, at their pleasure, the days on which the aforesaid penance is to be performed. All and singular the above solemnities I have sworn to keep and fulfil. Moreover, I have promised to give a hundred shillings to the work of the church of St. Martin aforesaid, to be paid within fifteen days of the first demand thereof ; and I renounce all exceptions and cavils whatever, of royal prohibition or privilege * of having taken the Cross, submitting myself altogether to the mercy of the said canons, for the injuries I have done them. In witness whereof I have caused these my letters to be made patent."

Anno 1289, Geoffrey de Newband, a chaplain to the King and Chancellor of his Exchequer, was constituted Dean. Ecclesiastics in those days filled the highest offices of secular authority under the King, as the best fitted for it from the nature of their education. A practical illustration, in the individual sense, of the sentiment of the great Bacon, that " Knowledge is Power."

* *Privilegium cruce signati*, which was very great, exempting the party from all prosecution on account of debt, from the payment of taxes, and even of the interest of money borrowed to prosecute his expedition. He had the right of alienating his lands without the consent of his superior lord, was amenable only to the ecclesiastical courts, and had plenary remission (such as it was) of all his sins.—Vide Du Cange. Robertson's Hist. of Charles V.

About this time, John Peckham, who had been raised from the condition of a friar minor to the See of Canterbury by the Pope, was much pressed by his spiritual master to transmit him large sums from the coffers of the English church.

Peckham appears (in the execution perhaps of these papal requisitions) to have made certain exactions, by his ministers, from the churches in Essex, appendant on St. Martin's, and on refusal of payment, to have placed them under an interdict and excommunication. By this measure the priests of these parishes were not only prevented from exercising their functions, but the country people from frequenting the markets within their limits. Edward was a monarch little disposed to suffer such innovations of his right; and accordingly we find him forbidding obedience to the archbishop and his ministers in their assumed jurisdiction.

“ Edward, by the Grace of God, King of England, &c. to the Sheriff of Essex, health. Forasmuch as we have lately heard, that sentence of excommunication has been rashly pronounced by the Venerable John, Archbishop of Canterbury, against the deans, canons, ministers, servants, and parishioners, belonging to our free chapels, in contempt and manifest injury of us, seeing that by the due oath by which we are bound to the defence of our crown, we are obliged every where to protect the rights, liberties, and immunities, of our deans, chapels, canons, ministers, and parishioners, We

command and firmly enjoin you that ye shall justice the parishes of the free chapel of St. Martin the Great of London, and others whom it may concern, so that under pretence of sentence of excommunication by the said Archbishop, or others bearing his authority, they do not delay to come to the said chapels to hear divine service, to partake of the sacraments, and communicate with the canons, ministers, and servants of the same, nor that they in the least on the said account avoid, or moreover omit, to come to the markets of the towns wherein such chapels are situated; and cause ye this to be publicly proclaimed in the towns themselves, markets, and other places, as ye shall see expedient: and obey ye so effectively this our mandate that we may deservedly commend your industry and diligence. Witness ourself at Windsor, this twenty-second day of February, in the ninth year of our reign."

The Dean, Geoffrey de Newband, died about 1282.

About the year 1285 the Mayor of London, Gregory de Rokesley, refusing to repair at the summons of John Kyrkby, the King's Treasurer, afterwards Bishop of Ely, to render account in his official person how the peace of the city had been kept, the office of Mayor was suspended by the King, and the custody of the city taken into his own hands, and consigned to an officer of his appointment. During this suspension of the civic immunities of London, which lasted twelve years, the streets became infested with daring ruffians. A regulation was in consequence made, that no stranger

should wear any weapon, or be seen in the streets after the tolling of the Curfew bell * in the church of St. Martin-le-Grand †.

William de Luda was the next Dean in succession, a man of singular eminence for his knowledge and integrity; he was also Archdeacon of Durham, Treasurer of the King's household, and Keeper of his wardrobe. He gained by his conduct in his offices, universal approbation. In 1290 he was elevated to the Bishopric of Ely ‡.

In the year 1286 King Edward went into Gascony, leaving his brother Edmund Earl of Cornwall as regent in his absence. On this expedition William de Luda accompanied him, and had occasion, shortly after, to prefer a complaint to his royal master, that Giles Foliot, the Archdeacon of Colchester, had, by a sort of stratagem, exercised an undue visitation in the

* The story of the Curfew-bell being instituted by the Conqueror, seems to rest on very uncertain foundation. The ringing of this bell, as a summons from labour to rest, was probably much more ancient; the custom of putting out fire and candle at its sound, and retiring to repose, might, however, be more strictly enforced under William.

† Maitland's Hist. of Lond. vol. i. p. 106.

‡ Godwin de Præsul. Willis. I lately saw his monument in the venerable and beautiful cathedral church of Ely. This sepulchral memorial forms a lofty alcove in the pure and elegant pointed style of that period. It is without an effigy.

church of Christhale in Essex, demanded procuration * for the same; on the non-payment of which, he had interdicted the church, and carried off the chalice and the mass-book.

The following letters from Edward to his brother were the result of this incroachment :

“ Edward, by the Grace of God, &c. King of England, &c. to the Earl of Cornwall, health. It has been shewn to us on the part of our dear and faithful Master William de Luda, Dean of St. Martin the Great, that the church aforesaid which he possesses by our collocation, is our free chapel, and exempt from all ordinary jurisdiction in its body or members, such as persons, prebends, churches, and chapels annexed; and the Dean himself having lately made a journey with us out of the kingdom, we have taken his men, lands, things, rents, and all his possessions, into our especial protection, strictly forbidding all and singular persons that they should cause him any loss, trouble, or grievance: nevertheless, Master Giles Foliot, Archdeacon of Colchester, and Master Simon de la Newland, official of the same, with certain of their abettors and accomplices (our Dean being lately absent with us on business in foreign parts), proceeding in person to the church of Christehale (which is a prebend of our free chapel, exempt from all ordinary jurisdiction and subjected to that of the Dean of St. Martin's alone), as if for the purpose of hearing mass, afterwards declared that they had made a visitation, and in a few days, sent to the said prebendal church, the Dean of Newport to obtain procuration for the same. The Prebend of the

* Procuration was a sum of money contributed by the parochial priest to the visiting Bishop or Archdeacon, in commutation for the ancient custom of supplying the necessary provisions for him and his attendants on his progress.

church not being authorized to pay them for this sort of visitation, by the orders of the said Dean of Newport, they imposed ecclesiastical interdict; and not yet content with these premises, turning their hands to still worse courses, they caused to be caried off by the said Dean of Newport and his sompnour *, the chalice and missal of the church. And notwithstanding this, the Archdeacon coming afterwards, privately, to the house of the said Prebend, seized on, by his own authority, the goods which he found there, which rightfully he could not, to the prejudice and harm of the rights of us and the said Dean; and because we have often given warning against similar disturbances, nor will leave this sort of contempt unpunished, we strictly enjoin and command you, as much as in you lies, that ye shall, without delay, cause to be taken, and keep in your safe custody, the official of the Dean of Newport, the sompnour, and others their accomplices, whom ye may find guilty of this fact, and above all, the Archdeacon himself, if he shall have sanctioned the same, so that they be not delivered thence until we command you under our privy seal, and that others may fear of offending in a similar manner or otherwise, against us or those to us belonging. Given under our seal at, the nineteenth day of May, in the fifteenth year of our reign."

By a subsequent brief, witnessed "Edmund Earl of Cornwall, at Westminster," the parties were admitted to bail.

William de Luda, on his promotion to the See of Ely, was succeeded in the deanery by William de Marchia; he was followed, at an unknown date, by Peter de Sabaudia, styled as

* Sompnour or Apparitor, the officer who delivers the citations of ecclesiastical courts.

Thomas de Sabaudia, before noticed, the King's cousin. He was officially employed by the King as his attorney beyond the seas in 1304. Under the reign of Edward the Second he was promoted to the Archbishopric of Lyons.

In the year 1294, the Pope having sent two Cardinals into England, the demand of procuration in support of their expences was extended to the free chapel of St. Martin, but designated as illegal, and strictly forbidden in the letters of the King.

“ Edward, by the Grace of God, King of England, to Masters de Baldoc*, Dean of St. Paul's, and J. de Clere, official of the Venerable Father the Bishop of London. Notwithstanding that our free chapel of St. Martin, as well as other our chapels by right, are entirely exempt and free from all jurisdiction of ordinaries as well as from all exactions, contributions, and procurations whatsoever, ye, as we have heard from our dearly beloved in Christ, the Dean and Chapter of the aforesaid chapel, demand procurations for the need of the Venerable Fathers, Henry of Albany, and S. of, Cardinal Bishops of the holy Church of Rome, lately sent to us by the Apostolic See, and that ye sorely compel them to payment of the said procurations, to the manifest injury of us and our said chapel. We therefore, aware that our royal state and dignity might easily be derogated, unless we quickly provided a fitting remedy in this matter, by our command strictly forbid that ye presume to require from the aforesaid Dean and Chapter these kind of procurations, or other actions whatever, to

* Ralph Baldoc, who was afterwards Chancellor, and Bishop of London.

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the prejudice of us, or of our chapel aforefaid, least it may be fitting for us to exert a heavier hand. Witness, ourself at Westminster the thirtieth day of August, in the 22nd year of our reign."

The name of William de Melton occurs again on the authority of Willis, as successor to Thomas de Sabaudia in 1308, and if this be correct, he was probably instituted again, as we have seen before an instrument addressed to him under Edward the First, on the authority of which I was constrained to give him an earlier insertion.

Then followed, in 1317, the eleventh of Edward the Second, Richard de Elsefield. The Chapter of the College obstructed this Dean by some means, in the execution of his office; which he represented to the King, who issued his precept that William de Elsefield should receive the obedience due to his situation *.

In the year 1314 the successor of the warlike

* There was anciently a lane or passage from St. Vedast's, now Foster-lane, through the precinct of our church to the church of St. Nicholas at the Shambles, which stood at the south-east corner of Butcher-hall-lane. This passage, William de Luda stopped up. At an inquisition held before the justices of King Edward the Second in the Tower, for the correction of purprestures, or unlawful obstacles and encroachments made within the city, the jury presented the alteration above-mentioned; but Richard de Elsefield represented that he kept the passage stopped by virtue of a licence from Edward I. which he produced.

Edward I. prepared a formidable expedition against the Scots, the object of which was totally frustrated by the victory of Bannockburn. To defray the expences of this armament, a tallage or contribution was laid on the realm. Towards this tallage, the Sheriffs of London endeavoured to make the Dean and Chapter of St. Martin's, with their tenants, contribute ; upon which they made their remonstrance to the King, that such a proceeding was contrary to the privilege of their charter, on the ground of their having paid towards a tallage in the 22d year of the reign of Edward the First, with which they had voluntarily assessed themselves*. Edward the Second commands the Barons of his Exchequer to inspect the charters of St. Martin's, and ascertain if such contribution would be fairly levied on its tenants, if not, that the exemption should be allowed ; and that if any distraint had taken place in consequence of the assessment, it should be taken off. This instrument is dated at Berwick, on the 10th of July, whither the King, with the rem-

* This was a contribution towards the wars in Gascony, in which the warlike and politic Edward did not spare the goods of the church ; he required a half of the goods of the clergy, a sixth of the corporate towns, and a tenth of the commons at large. Stow's Chron. edit. 1592, p. 308.

nant of his shattered forces, had retreated from the field of Bannockburn.

In the 14th of Edward the Second's reign, an *allocatio*, or allowance of the liberties of our church, was made at the Tower of London, before Henry Stanton and associates, Justices itinerant.

The Dean and Chapter of St. Martin's are summoned to shew by what authority, "*quo warranto*," they claim their privileges. They cite and produce the charter of Henry III. to Kyrkeham, and moreover his letters to Walter de Melton, empowering them to revive all such customs as they might have formerly enjoyed, but which they had suffered to become obsolete from neglecting to exercise them. The Dean and Chapter, however, relinquish any claim to receiving toll within the City of London; and Sir Galfrid Scrop, on the part of the King, objects to their enjoying the privilege of *infangtheof*, or of bringing a person apprehended for a felony within the limits of their soke or liberty, to trial in their own court, inasmuch as it had been the practice to try such offenders before the King's Justices at Newgate. A day is assigned for the further hearing of this plea, the King then directs his writ to his justices, recites his own charter, being an *Insuperimus* or recapitulatory confirmation of those of for-

mer monarchs, and allows the canons of St. Martin's to revive all lapsed privileges. This instrument is witnessed at Gloucester.

The year 1327 was marked by the deposition of the weak and consequently unfortunate monarch, Edward of Caernarvon. The victim of his adulterous queen, Isabella, and her paramour Mortimer, aided by the diabolical acts of Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, Edward expiated, according to the historians of the times, his vices or his follies by a dreadful and violent end :

“ The shrieks of death through Berkley's roofs that ring,

“ Shrieks of an agonizing King ! ”——

He was succeeded by his son Edward the Third, who was destined by Providence to raise the military glory of England to the highest pitch ; to extend her commerce, and consolidate her government. In the beautiful descriptions of the venerable Chaucer, so replete with character and nature, and in the minute relations of Froissart, we acquire a precise idea of the state of society and chivalrous polish of this reign.

John de Wodeford was Dean of St. Martin's May 1328.

John de Hesterton 1343.

Thomas de Useflete 1345. He had been,

in the former reign Keeper of the King's wardrobe*.

William de Cusancia, a chaplain of the King, 1349.

To whom succeeded the celebrated William de Wykeham, on the 5th of May, anno 1360. To detail the particular acts and history of this eminent prelate, statesman, and patron of letters, would be a task too voluminous for the object of these pages; suffice it say, that from an humble birth he rose, through a casual introduction to King Edward III. to the high office of his Chancellor; in 1360 he was appointed to the Deanery of St. Martin's, which he held about three years, and during this time, says his elegant historian, "he generously rebuilt, in a very handsome manner, and at a very great expence, the cloister of the chapter-house, and the body of the church†." Neither the virtues, the integrity, nor the talents of Wykeham could protect him, in the decline of life, from those reverses of fortune which are "twin born" with greatness. During the latter years of his royal master, the party of the Duke of Lancas-

* Comput. Thomæ de Useflete clerici provisoris magnæ Garde robe 19 Edw. II. Anstis, "Obs. upon Knighthood of the Bath," App. p. 9.

† Lowth's Life of William of Wykeham.

ter prevailed against him, and he suffered a temporary disgrace. The cloud of malignant persecution was, however, shortly dissipated, and Wykeham having founded a college at Oxford, and a public school at Winchester, received, in his declining years, the proper reward of his pious and patriotic labours, by seeing them grow up and flourish under his eye, and bring forth those fruits of virtue, piety, and learning, which he earnestly desired they might produce. He departed this life in the 80th year of his age, anno 1404, the sixth of Henry IV.

Simon de Northwood succeeded Wykeham in 1363, and, holding the deanery only twelve months, he was followed by William de Mulsho, chief Chamberlain of the King's Exchequer, Receiver and Keeper of the King's treasure and jewels.

In 1377 Richard the Second succeeded his renowned grandfather at the early age of eleven years. His luxurious and indolent disposition was little suited to the regal office, in which, after a reign of twenty-two years, he was displaced by the politic Bolingbroke. Richard resembled Edward the Second in his follies, his misfortunes, and his fate.

Walter Skirlawe was appointed Dean in 1379. The year 1381 was distinguished by one of those popular commotions, in which all law and

order were, for a time, subverted by the ungoverned fury of an incensed multitude. Rebellion, like a fever in the natural body, may be often consequent on some sore and oppressive disease in the body politic; but the delirious acts of the multitude must, at length, submit to those eternal principles which constitute the security of the social compact. The followers of Wat Tyler paid no respect to the immunities of sanctuary; they tore from the very altars all whom they considered as offenders against the commonweal, or obnoxious to their cause. Among these were not only included the collectors of the taxes, but all who had any connexion with office or learning. They acted upon principles of a true levelling character, however silly and sophistical :

“ When Adam dolve and Eve span,
Who was then a gentleman ? ”

Numbers, probably, vainly sought refuge from the raging multitude within the precincts of our church, and among the rest, one Roger Legat, chief sisar, questmonger, or collector ; he was forced from the High Altar of the sacred edifice, taken into Cheapside, and decapitated *.

Walter Skirlawe was successively promoted to the Bishoprics of Coventry and Lichfield, Bath and Wells, and finally to that of Durham.

* Stow's Ann. by Howes, p. 286.

The cathedral church of the last See he liberally repaired, and died anno 1406*.

John Bacon followed Skirlawe in 1384.

Our foundation was exempted from the contributions which occasioned these commotions. I find letters of Richard the Second addressed to Walter Skirlawe, by which he grants immunity to our canons, and their possessions, from all manner of "tenths, fifteenths, subsidies, taxes, tallages, contributions, aids, or quotas, whatsoever."

Richard de Medeford was Dean of St. Martin's 1386, afterwards promoted to the Sees of Chichester and Salisbury.

William de Asheton followed in 1395.

Thomas Stanley in 1399, the year in which the "unking'd" Richard resigned his office to aspiring Bolingbroke. In 1405 the citizens of London, who had long regarded the privileges of our Sanctuary with jealousy, and would have been justly happy to procure their extinction, knowing that Kings who have acquired their crown by a doubtful and precarious claim are generally inclined to lend a gracious ear to the requests of their subjects, thought this a favourable juncture to prefer a petition against the Sanctuary of St. Martin-le-Grand, as a receptacle

* Godwin de Præsul.

of murderers, thieves, and fraudulent debtors, praying that its privileges might be annulled. They received for reply, that on a review of the grounds on which the place was privileged, the King would grant a remedy if possible. But the royal grants and papal bulls, the veneration so long paid to the privileges of the church, were probably thought too strong for innovation, and the Sanctuary of St. Martin's continued in the plentitude of its saving power. The King, however, in the first year of his reign, had mitigated in favour of the city, a penal statute of the reign of Edward III. for repressing disorders within the city, the provisions of which were remarkably severe*. In connexion with

* In the 28th of Edward the Third it was enacted by the Parliament holden at Westminster, that should errors, defects, or misprisions, arise from the want of "sound government" of the city by the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, they should for the first "defect" be fined a thousand marks; for the second, two thousand; for the third, the franchises of the city should be taken into the King's hands. The power of the Sheriffs was to be vested in the Constable of the Tower; and the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, were liable to be indicted before the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and a Jury of men of Kent, Essex, Hertfordshire, Bucks, or Berkshire, by any parties who had sustained losses by such misgovernment. On conviction, they were to be assessed at treble the amount of damages sustained. In the first year of Henry the Fourth's reign, this statute was mitigated on account of the loyal de-

the affairs of the foundation, I shall hereafter have occasion to allude to this statute.

Richard Derham was Dean in 1409. In 1412 Henry Prince of Wales succeeded his Father. This monarch, from that perverted view of religion so prevalent under the Papal domination, stained the glorious laurels of Agincourt by the cruel persecution of the Lollards, or followers of the tenets which Wickliff had promulged in the preceding century, and which are now, by the blessing of God, those of our National Church.

John Stena or Stone was the next Dean. In 1416, under this Dean, I find that one Henry Kneve having stolen a signet ring, a pyx for consecrated wafers, some coin, and other valuable articles, took sanctuary within St. Martin's, and deposited his theft with an inhabitant of the precinct. The delinquent afterwards fled from the Sanctuary, and the Dean's officers seized on the property as a waif * left within the soke or franchise of our church.

portment of the city, and the fines were to be proportioned, or seizure of the liberties determined, at the discretion of the Justices appointed for the matter. The penalties of the above statute extended to the other corporate communities of the realm. Lansdown MS. n. 170, fol. 77.

* Waifs were redeemable by the party robbed, prosecuting the felon within a year and a day after the robbery. This cus-

In 1422, the first year of the reign Henry VI. John Stafford was appointed Dean. He was the ninth son of Humphrey Duke of Buckingham, was subsequently created Bishop of Wells, and lastly Archbishop of Canterbury. He enjoyed also, high secular preferment; under Henry V. he was a Privy-councillor and Treasurer of England. He was Chancellor in the subsequent reign from 1432 to 1450.

William Kenwolmersh followed in 1423, who also held the office of High Treasurer.

John Estcourt succeeded in 1427; and Thomas Bouchier in 1428, a man of noble birth, being a son of the Earl of Essex. He held the deanery of St. Martin's about eleven years. In 1454 he was promoted to the See of Canterbury, and made a Cardinal. Bouchier continued in the Archiepiscopal See during the wars of the Houses of York and Lancaster, the usurpation of Richard, and the accession of Henry the Seventh. He crowned Edward the Fourth, Richard the Third, Henry the Seventh, and his Queen. He was the means, under the patronage of Henry the Sixth, of introducing the noble art of printing into this kingdom, for which pur-

tomary law seems to have been established with a view to enforce the prosecution of delinquents, and to punish those who neglected an act so necessary to the security of the community at large.

pose he employed the venerable Caxton * and William Turner, Master of the Robes.

The citizens began now openly to dispute the privileges of Sanctuary claimed by the Canons of St. Martin's for their precinct.

In the year 1430, the 9th of Henry VI. Thomas Bouchier, as Dean of St. Martin's, petitioned the King for redress against William Estfield, Mayor of London, Thomas Large and Walter Chertsey, Sheriffs, founded upon the penal statute before alluded to, which imposed heavy penalties for all disorders committed within the city. The Mayor and Sheriffs had thought proper forcibly to withdraw from a house within the precinct of the Sanctuary one Henry Ciprian, a Canon of Waltham, by the hands of their officers. This proceeding produced the following writ:

" The King to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, health. Our well-beloved the Dean and Chapter of our free chapel of St. Martin-le-Grand of London, have shewn to us that their predecessors have so freely held the said chapel in times past that no bailiffs, or other ministers whatever, of the said city, have exercised, or ought to exercise jurisdiction over any persons fleeing to our said chapel for transgressions, debts, or other causes. Forasmuch as William Estfield, Mayor of the

* Caxton first practised printing in Westminster Abbey. Presses were afterwards established in St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and in St. Alban's.

aforesaid city, with the Sheriffs for the time being, violently drew forth one Master Henry Cyprian, a Canon of Waltham, who had fled to our said chapel for certain reasonable and just causes, and committed him to prison, We, wishing the liberties of our chapel aforesaid to be inviolably preserved as they were accustomed to be in the time of our progenitors, command that, desisting altogether from all such injuries, ye make reparation without delay of whatever be attempted or done to the hurt of the liberties thereof: that ye cause to be brought back and restored to the said Sanctuary, the Canon abovementioned, taken therefrom, so that no repeated complaint may reach us in this matter, nor we be obliged to consider you grievously as opposers and disturbers of our privileges, and the rights of our kingdom. Witness ourself at Westminster, &c."

The King's mandate was, I conclude, in this instance reluctantly obeyed by the citizens of London.

Richard Cawdray was preferred to the deanery in 1489.

The city, aggrieved by the growing enormities which were fostered in the very heart of their jurisdiction, by the Sanctuary of St. Martin's, and beginning to doubt whether its privileges were not rather assumed by long sufferance than founded on positive grants, still continued to impugn the liberties claimed by the foundation. She found a champion in Matthew Philip, Alderman of Aldersgate Ward, who on occasion of "a certain imposition for the saufgard of Caley's, set by the Mayor and Alder-

men of London," demanded the same within St. Martin's-lane, denying that it was a privileged place, and on refusal of payment, proceeded to levy it by distress. The Dean formally complained of this alleged violation to the King, who issued his writ, commanding restitution to be made to the parties who had suffered.

The Alderman, on this, thought proper to obey the king's precept, and to give the Dean of St. Martin's a supper, as amends for the invasion of his privilege. At this feast of conciliation, Cawdray produced writs of *alias* and *pluries**, accompanied by the following letter, under the sign manual, with all which instruments he had fortified his cause in case the citizen had persevered in his course :

" Matthew Phillip, for as much as it seemith ye have forgotten how that ye ought, of your naturell and true ligeance and obeissance the which ye owe unto us, to obey unto us our lawfull and reasonable desyers and comaundmente, (namely, suche as concerne Goddes right and his Chirches, and also the right of our owne places priviledged by our holy ffaders the Popes, and our noble progenitours, whom God asoile), we remember you of the last charge and comaundement we gave unto you by our writt, closed under our Great Seale, as for the grete injuries ye have done late unto our

* If a first writ be disregarded, it is followed by one styled of *alias*, and if this be not obeyed, a third is issued entitled of *pluries*.

clerke, the Deen of St. Martin's, and the inhabitants within St. Martin's Lane, which is withinne the precincte of our Seinctuarie there, the which our comandement ye list not yet to obey, ne consider Godde's right, ne oures in that behalve, contented at large in our said writte, whereof we send you a copy closed in these our letters; wherefore we charge you yet strictly, as we have doo afore, that anon, after the sight of these our letters, ye performe the charge which we gave unto you by our said writte, latinge you fully wete that we wole not suffer the said liberties and immunities of our said Capell to be by you, or any other, injured or defeated more now in our, than they have bee in our said progenitours daies afore us. And for the paine in our saide writt was as ye would eschew Godde's indignacon and oures, (the which it seemeth by your disobeissant deedes ye set at litel or nought,) we charge you now to obey the contence in our said writte, upon the faith and ligeaunce ye owe unto us. Geven, &c."

This act of Matthew Philip was the precursor of a grand attack on these hordes of privileged offenders; for in the same year the Sheriffs of London, Philip Malpas and Robert Large, are accused, or rather honoured by the accusation, of having violated the privileges of Blanch-chapelon, or the White Friars, St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, and St. Catharine's near the Tower; and a circumstance arose shortly after, which afforded them ground for putting to the test those of our foundation.

Whilst a soldier, confined in Newgate for some offence, was being conducted to Guildhall in the custody of an officer of the city, in passing the south gate of St. Martin's Sanctuary, which

faced Newgate-street, some of his comrades rushed out of a neighbouring street, rescued him from the officer, and fled with him to the holy ground. The Sheriffs, justly indignant at so barefaced an outrage, repaired to the Collegiate church, attended by a host of the gazing and expectant multitude, and demanded their prisoner, with his daring accomplices, of the Commissary or officer in charge of the place. On his refusal to give them up, the Sheriffs boldly seized on them all, and committed them to safe keeping.

This was a severe blow to our foundation, as it struck at the very root of their long used but unsalutary franchise. The Canons who were present immediately preferred the following circumstantial complaint to their Dean :

“ Ffull reverend maister, we recomend us entierly unto you, certifinge how that on Seint Giles' daye last, a souldiour, whose name is Knight, that was in Newgate in prison, as he was ledd by an officer of the counter to the Gilde-halle, there came out the Panyer-aley, 5 of his fellowship, (not being of your franchises, but strangers,) betwix the Bocherie and the Bole—hed and bereft from the said officer the foresaid sowdeor, with daggers drawn, and brought him with them into the Sanctuarie, at the west dore of the church in the lane, making the officer to returne agene, and token grithe of the place, and sone after come the Shriifs with the Alderman of the Warde, and the Chamberlayne of the Cytye, and greate multytude of people into the church, and sent for the Comissarie, charging him on the King's behalf, to deliver the said

prisoner and his aforesaid rescowers; and the Comisarie said he had no such power, ne might deliver him without your assent and comandement; and thereupon, the Alderman and the Chamberleyne went to the Mayre with this foresaid aunswere, theatning and saying that the Mayre should come and have them out in such wise, that it should be too importable to us to bear, and after the Alderman and Chamberleyne come agene to the Sheriffs at St. Martin's, and there they entreated, so that we shoulde keep them surelie still, as we would aunswere for them to the Kinge, till we had sent you worde and had answeere from you, and after sodenly, (unweeting us) the same daie, at soper tyme, the said Sheriffs came agene with the under Shriffe and their counsell, with great multitude of people, desiring that the Comisary should deliver him, and he aunswere agene that he in no wise would be irregular ne fal in perjurie for them, and finally would not deliver him; and thanne the Shriffs bad us avoide, and tok the prysoner with them agens our assent and will, sayinge that thei would restore them againe an the law would desire it. So wat shall of this cas, we wot never, for this daie, the saide prysoners were led to Newgate all naked, save there lynnens cloyes, two togedere, chayned by the necke and manacled as traytours, afore your gate, as in despite of your Sanctuarie, and as we be enformed be lyke to be deade in all hast. Wherefore we beseech you in salvacon of your franchise and liberties, that ye would send us your counsell how we should be governed in this matter, and, to our understanding, it were expedient that ye come yourself in all the hast that ye maie. Also your tenants here dreden sore lest they be fecht out with force in the same wise. Wrytten at London, with heaveie harte, the second daie of September."

Cawdray the Dean was at Cambridge when he received this letter, and immediately set forward to London, in order to assert the liberties

of his deanery; he applied to the Sheriffs for restitution of the offenders to Sanctuary, and on their refusal complained to the Mayor and Aldermen, who appointed him a hearing in their presence, within five days. The Dean rejecting this delay and formal supplication to the Corporation of London, repaired to the King at Windsor, and preferred his complaint in the following terms :

“ Like it unto the Kinge's noble grace to consider how that his free chapel of St. Martyn the Graunde, in London, hath from the tyme of no mynde be endewed and possessed of as great liberties and fraunchises by your noble progenitors, and considered by your hyghnes, as Westminster, Beverly, or any other chirche in your reaume, and them resonableye had and used, unto the fourth daye of this month of September, on which day, Philip Malpas and Robert Marshal, Shrifs of the Citie of London, accompanied with many hundrede of the commen people, entred your Chirch and Sanctuary there, and against the lawfull monitions of the officers of the place, tooke out with them 5 under, which came the same daie, into the Sanctuarie, and asked and had the immunitie thereof in forme accustomed, and them ledd fettered into the Counter, and thens cheyned by the nekks 2 togeders, all naked save their lynnens clothes, through Chepe unto Newgate, where they be under as many irnes as they mowe bere, and like to be dead hastily, as their frendes saien.

“ And how be it, that your symplest Dean, which was not presente at this deed doinge, have duely required the Shirefs restitucon of these men unto the chirch, and of redresse for the contempt done to God and your hyghnes, whose house it is, they having promise, as it is said, of the commen of the

people of the citie to paye for their costes, whatevere they drawen in the matter of the distruction of your sanctuary, which hath do to many of them great ease, wol no restitucon ne amendes make in this, Goddes cause and your's, but only bidd me shewe him the evidences of your said sanctuarie, the which I ought not to do to them, as for your place, where you be only lord, founder, protector, and graunter of all that is.

“ Wherefore please it your highnes to consider, that in all such cases, this your chapel hath be defended at all times, sith the first fundacon thereof by your noble progenitors, that founded and endowed it with great liberties, and that without your grace and helpe, it lieth not in your poore Deen's power to resist and sue, at the common law, against so mighty a communitie as is in London ; and thereupon of your grace to command my Lord your Chauncellor to ordeyne that the saide persons thus violently taken out of your chapel, be restored to it again by auctoritye of such writts as have been made for your said chapel in case semblable, with *alias*, and *pluries*, and *subpœna*, if it shall neede, lest they die in prison or be executed unto grete hurte and worse ensample of al the churche in generall and distruction of your said chapell for ever, oonlesse that it be relieved in hast, graciously by your said hyghnes.”

The King, in consequence of the above representation, directed letters, dated at Windsor 11th of September, commanding that the prisoners should be restored to sanctuary forthwith. The bearer of these letters was Lord Huntingdon, who, accompanied by Lord Tiptot, sent for the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, to the Tower of London, and delivered to them the royal mandate under the privy seal.

The Mayor with his attendants excused themselves from opening the letters, on the ground that they were within the Tower of London, a place of royal privilege, and entirely without the franchise of the city, in which, as a corporate body, they could perform no public act; also as the letters were addressed to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, in general terms, and as the major part of the latter were absent, they could not proceed to open the letters until a greater number should be assembled.

“ My Lord of Huntingdon,” being unable by his exhortations to overcome these objections, produced the King’s writ under the Great Seal. On this the civic officers retired into Barking church as a place within their liberties, opened the writ, and craved to defer their answer until the following day at noon.

They then excused themselves from obeying the King’s writ on the ground of a statute of one of the Edwards, which enacted, that if the King, for the time being, were to address letters to any of his judges, charging him to cease of “ his process or judgment,” and by that mandate either of the litigating parties would be injured in their right, the judge should stand excused by the statute from obeying the writ; and they maintained that this case was imme-

diately in point, for if the Mayor were to obey the King's writ, the Sheriff would stand amenable for 100*l.* to Lord Huntingdon himself, who had an action to that amount against the prisoner rescued from their serjeant, the King's officer. They added they would personally bear their answer to the King, then at "the Copped Hall," Copthall in Essex.

The King, in the mean time, having sent various private messages to the Mayor, by the Master of St. Catharine's and others, being apprized by Lord Huntingdon of the citizens' determination, would not suffer them, on their arrival, to come in his presence.

The Bishop of Salisbury, Sir Ralph Botiller, Sir Thomas Stanley, and Sir James Fines*, were deputed to receive them and their allegations; and although they professed their willingness to obey the King if he maintained his first view of the matter, they received for reply, that as they had thought proper to disobey his letters and writ in the first instance, the matter should be referred to the "Lords of his blood and great counsaile," or in short, that he would make "a Star-chamber matter of it;" which

* Afterwards Lord Say and Sele: he held the office of Lord High Treasurer, and was barbarously murdered in Cade's rebellion.

implied a threat of punishment by fine for their disobedience. With this answer, says the record*, the citizens departed "right hevily."

The Lord Treasurer, Chancellor, Sir Ralph Botiller, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was added "for the right of the church," were deputed to call the parties before them in the Star-chamber, who were required to prefer their griefs and allegations within three days.

The Dean then made his complaint of violated privilege in due form.

The allegations in the Sheriff's reply were no doubt dictated by Markham, their Serjeant, and Carpenter, their Town-clerk; the latter of whom was a zealous advocate of their cause, and learned in the antient charters and immunities of the city. They affirmed, that if the chapel of St. Martin were endowed with any peculiar privilege it could only be in criminal cases, in which the life or limb of the subject might be endangered; and, moreover, that it had formed, with its precinct, "beyond tyme of mynde, parcel of the citie of London."

They said, that the prisoner, who was in Newgate, had been rescued by a plan, preconcerted with his comrades, one of whom had sum-

* Lansd. MSS. No. 170. fol. 87.

moned him on a pretended action of debt, before Sheriff Malpas at Guildhall, that, while he should be led before St. Martin's gate, by the usual route, to the court, his rescue might be effected. That the Sheriffs entered the precinct of St. Martin's and withdrew the offenders without violence; one as their prisoner, the others as trespassers against the officer of the King, who, on the attempted rescue, had attached and never lost sight of the offenders.

The Dean, in his rejoinder, insisted on the general nature of the Sanctuary; that the free chapel of St. Martin was without the city of London, and formed no part of it whatever.

He alleged the existence of the place, its endowments and liberties before the Conquest, cited the Conqueror's charter of confirmation, in Saxon and Latin, and the free and peaceable exercise of its privileges which it had ever since enjoyed. He mentioned a statute made in the 50th of the reign of Edward III. affirming St. Martin's and Westminster Abbey, to be places of privilege for treason, felony, or debt; and in further proof, recited the singular fact, that when the King's justices held their sittings in St. Martin's gate, for the trial of prisoners for treason or felony, the accused were placed before them on the other side of the street and carefully guarded from advancing forward, for

if they once passed the water channel which divided the middle of the street, they might claim the saving franchise of the sacred precinct, and the proceedings against them would be immediately annulled*.

Further, that a statute was made in the 3d of Richard II. providing that persons who should make fraudulent and collusive gifts or alienations of their goods, and enter sanctuaries to defraud their creditors, should, on the Sheriff returning on any writ of *capias* issued against them, that they had entered a privileged place, be summoned by proclamation once in each of five successive weeks, to answer the action against them. On their declining to come

* The South gate of St. Martin's, in which the Justices sat, must have faced the line of the present Newgate-street. The words of the declaration respecting this curious circumstance are as follows: "The Judge that sitteth for the King at St. Martin's (as in a place not of the Citie, but by privilege separate, and the Mair not called thereto, as he is to the deliverance of Newgate, and other soch actes in 'the Citie), and hath knowleche ther in case of treson or felonie, hath ever from tyme that no mynde is, sitten in the gate of the said Sanctuarie, and the person apeched and indited of treson or felony, is kepte by the officers on the ferre side of the strete afore him, to the intente that he come not on that other side of the canel [kennel] towards the Sanctuarie, there for to clayme the libertie and the franchise of the same."—Lansdown MSS. No. 170. fol. 89.

forth and defend themselves in the King's courts, the alienated goods should be distrained for the benefit of their creditors.

Various returns by the Sheriffs of London, that debtors had entered the Sanctuary of St. Martin's, and instances of proclamation accordingly made before the gate, were distinctly cited.

Further, the Dean alleged, somewhat sarcastically, that the citizens had reason rather to support than impugn the liberties of his church, since many "worshipful members of the corporation" had for debt or trespass, received the shelter of its privileges; and, of late years, to the number of three hundred or more.

When the city liberties were seized and suspended, those of St. Martin's were never disturbed.

St. Martin-le-grand was ever exempted from officers of the King's law and jurisdiction of ordinaries of the church; for when the Prior of St. Gregory of Canterbury impleaded a Canon of the foundation *, the King appealed to the court of Rome, as in a case of *lesæ majestatis*, or injury done to his Royal Majesty.

That the privileges of the church had been particularly confirmed by those monarchs of celebrated memory, Edward III. Richard II.

* See p. 75.

Henry IV. Henry V. and that the present King himself had granted his own special confirmation of them by the advice of the Lords spiritual and temporal in the first year of his reign.

It must be allowed that these proofs of Dean Cawdray were strong and convincing, and whatever the expediency of the saving privilege, the exercise of it for a long and indefinite period was indubitable.

The Sheriffs on their part tendered assertions and proofs to the following effect: They stated first, (with more deference to the authority of an old chronicler *, and the romantic strain of the time, than to matter of fact,) that the city of London had been, time out of mind, the capital of the whole kingdom, founded by the King's royal predecessors in memory of Troy, and on that account originally styled Troynovant. That in the time of Edward the Confessor it formed one sole sheriffwick and jurisdiction, and enjoyed liberty to elect its principal officers for the government of the same, according to the customs of the realm. That its jurisdiction extended over the site of the church and precinct of St. Martin's. That the citizens had from William the Conqueror two

* Geoff. of Monmouth.

charters, one granting them jurisdiction over the city and sheriffwick of London; the other, the enjoyment of all the free customs which they held in the time of Edward the Confessor.

Descending to particulars, they further said, that a part of the precinct of St. Martin's was, in the time of Edward the Second, a common way (*venella*) lying in the parish of St. Leonard's, and leading from St. Vedast's church to that of St. Nicholas at the Shambles; that this lane becoming the nightly resort of ruffians, at the instance of the Dean, and by consent of the city, it was stopped up and enclosed; the King by his brief, directing inquisition to be made by a jury, which found that the enclosure would not be to the prejudice of the city.

That in the 5th year of the same monarch's reign, Rogèr de Seyton and his associates, justices itinerant, commanded the Mayor and citizens diligently to enquire what churches, chapels, and colleges, *within* the city were of the advowson, presentation, or donation of the King, when they found that this of St. Martin was one. The same precept was issued in the 14th of Edward the Second by Henry de Stanton, Justice itinerant, and his associates. That the jury of inquisition then presented a certain solar or overhanging loft, adjoining to the church of St. Martin's, which was three feet too low, to the

annoyance of the passengers in the public lane ; Richard de Elsefield, the Dean, attended and cheerfully promised that the nuisance should be corrected.

They then proceeded to enumerate several murders which had taken place in and near the precinct, the perpetrators of which had taken sanctuary ; that the parties were brought before the Sheriffs and Coroner, and on their refusing to throw themselves on the laws of their country, the latter made their return accordingly, which was deposited, according to custom, within the Treasury of the city.

Some of these cases are so atrocious, and show so strikingly the abuses of sanctuary, that it may be well to particularize them :

In the 2nd of the reign of Edward the Second, Robert Stody murdered a woman, took sanctuary in St. Martin's, and afterwards made his escape.

In the 6th of Edward the Third, John Frowe, of Lincoln, on account of an old grudge, dogged Robert Dodmerton, a mason, with a drawn dagger in his hand, and when near the gate of St. Martin's, stabbed him mortally in the neck, and immediately took sanctuary in the precinct.

In the 16th of the above-mentioned reign, Lullay, a butcher of Cambridge, stabbed one

Burgess in the highway, before St. Martin's college, and claimed the same immunity.

The advocates of the city added, that as the Mayor and Sheriffs of London had of custom, from all time, enjoyed the privilege of returning, *in writing*, the process and record of all causes brought before them in the Court of Hustings, to the King or any of his Justices without the city, they, on the other hand, were always accustomed to return the same *ore tenus*, or by *word of mouth*, before the King's Justices sitting at St. Martin's, as being a place within the city.

That various persons who had committed spoliations and felonies within the precinct in the reign of Henry V. were apprehended, tried before the Mayor and Justices of the King, and outlawed. That in the first of the last mentioned King, a certain deep passage, in which ruffians assembled to perpetrate their predatory exploits, was thrown down, and laid open by the officers of the city. That the gaol of Newgate was ever delivered at St. Martin-le-grand, as within the city; and as it was moreover granted them by charter, that no sessions should be held within the city by the King's Justices but for that purpose, so if it chanced that the King's Justices sat there for any other account letters of indemnity for rights were always grant-

ed to the citizens, as if the precinct were a part of their jurisdiction. That when the King's Justices came to St. Martin's church, the officers of the city ever attended them. That all the inhabitants exercising any trade, craft, or occupation in shops, facing those royal highways of the city which passed through the precinct of St. Martin's, ever bore their part in all vigils, amercements, or contributions with the citizens, and finally, that from the premises it appeared that the church of St. Martin's, the lane, and the whole precinct, was a portion of the city of London.

Sir John Hody, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Richard Newton, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, were now called in to give their opinion in this momentous matter. The declarations of the other party, with the charter of the Conqueror, and bull of Pope Alexander, were read in the "sterred chamber." The Justices gave it as their opinion that the charter produced and the prescriptive use of the various privileges, time out of mind, by our church, were sufficient to establish the rights it claimed. The privileges of Beverly, Westminster, and Glastonbury, were alluded to by them; all which, they said, stood in their respective charters in general, rather than in especial words.

The Dean, fortified by this opinion, again

solicited the King to protect him from further sufferance by the law's delay, and to support the liberties of his chapel. Henry then directed his Chancellor and Treasurer to decree, that the five prisoners should be restored to sanctuary; and that "the Lordes of his counsail and bloode, in the sterred chamber" should fine the Sheriffs for disobedience to his letters and writ.

The Chancellor and Treasurer applied for the advice of the Lords* in the execution of the royal mandate, who recommended the Chancellor to issue a writ, commanding the Sheriffs to bring the five sanctuary men before the Court of Chancery, as a Court of Record, and that he should then direct them to be restored to the Sanctuary.

Further, if the Sheriffs thought, as justly they might, that sanctuary should not be extended to persons in such circumstances, they were to seek their remedy by formal application to the Dean of St. Martin's, or the Chancellor himself; an alternative which the success of these proceedings did not, I imagine, lead them to embrace. The record of this process was duly

* The Lords then present were, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, Cardinal Beaufort, the Earls of Huntingdon, Stafford, Suffolk, and Northumberland; Lords Scrope, Hungerford, Tiptot, and Stanhope.

“filaced, entered, and enacted, in the Court of Chancery ;” and the College of St. Martin’s took care minutely to preserve every particular of a proceeding so strongly corroborating their rights.

Numerous fabricators of counterfeit plate and jewels sought immunity for their fraudulent trade within the walls of St. Martin’s. Long after the dissolution of religious houses and suppression of sanctuaries, they appear to have kept their stand on this privileged ground *. The manufacture of St. Martin’s became a proverbial expression for counterfeit ware ; and continued so even in the seventeenth century, as may be seen from the lines of that great master of wit and satire, Butler.

“ ’Tis not those paltry counterfeits,
French stones which in our eyes you set,
But our right diamonds that inspire,
And set your am’rous hearts on fire.
Nor can those false *St. Martin’s beads*,
Which on our lips you place for reds,
And make us wear like Indian dames,
Add fuel to your scorching flames,

* A statute of Edward the Fourth against fraudulent makers of debased or counterfeit goldsmith’s work, excepted the precinct of St. Martin’s from the operation of its enactments. On this ground, and that of its forming no part of the city, it still continued a refuge for dealers in such merchandize. Vide Stat. 3 Edw. IV. cap. 4. 17 Edw. IV. &c.

But those, true rubies of the rock,
Which in our cabinets we lock *."

In the year 1447 the goldsmiths of London endeavoured to extend their right of search and condemnation of counterfeit plate to the precinct of our church; and it is stated, that on the 14th of March, Thomas Ryner, John Randon, and other goldsmiths of London, "repaired to St. Martin's, and against the privileges of the place, searched the goldsmiths' shops in the Sanctuary, taking from them such work 'longing to the crafte as them liked.'" Cawdray, the Dean, in this instance adopted a middle course; he did not directly oppose the visit of the goldsmiths, but went round with them to the various shops in the precinct; commanding, of his own authority, what was defective to be broken up, and the offenders to be committed to the prison of the Sanctuary. "This execution done by the Dean, in his own person against the trespassers," observes the MS. being "as much as the goldsmiths could think or desire, they drank with the said Dean, and with friendly thanks departed, as it seemed meet."

The goldsmiths followed up this act by an application to the King for permission to search the place by his authority. But the King would grant them no more than his letters to the Dean,

* Hudibras; the Lady's answer to the Knight, line 55.

in which the latter was enjoined to investigate and remedy the abuse, by virtue of his own local and peculiar jurisdiction :

“ By the Kinge. Trustie and wel-beloved, we grete you well, and let you to wete that we be informed that there be divers persons dwellinge within our Seinctuarie of St. Martin's that forge and sell laton and coper, some gilt and some sylved, for gold and silver, unto the grete deceit and injurie of our lege people. Wherefore we write unto you at this time, willinge and prayinge you, and nevertheless chargynge you, that ye do due serche to be made in the said Seinctuarie, and see in all wise that the crafte of goldsmythes, nor none other crafte be so deceyvally used within the same, and that herein be no default as we trust you. Geven under our signet at our Castle of Windsore ye 18 daie of March.

“ To our trustie and wel-beloved master,
Richarde Caudray, Deen of Saint
Martin's, within our Citie of London.”

In 1450 the insurrection of the Commons of Kent and Essex, headed by the celebrated Jack Cade, the counterfeit Mortimer, was suppressed. This rising has generally been regarded by historians as an experiment projected by Richard Duke of York, to try the feeling of the nation relative to his claims. His emissaries were, however, imbued too much with the principles of universal plunder, to obtain supporters in those classes of society which had any thing to lose *.

* It is a fact worthy of incidental notice, that while these

On the suppression of the insurrection many of the most violent of the ring-leaders repaired in all probability to the shelter of sanctuary. William Cayme, of Sittingborne, in Kent, one of Cade's associates, fled to the saving precinct of St. Martin's. This was a case of treason, and the advisers of the King persuaded him that he might in such a matter use his pleasure in limiting a privilege derived in the first instance from his prerogative, and appertaining to a church of his own peculiar jurisdiction. It was accordingly demanded that Cayme should be delivered up to the royal officers. But the loyal Dean had already secured the traitor in the prison of the Sanctuary, and was unwilling to afford a precedent injurious to the claim of St. Martin's College, as a refuge for offenders of all descriptions whatever.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we grete you well; and forasmuch as we bee informed that oon William Cayme, of Sittingborne, is now late taken and kept under sure saufe werde within your prison, for the which we can you right good thank, we therefore will and also charge you to doo the said Cayme, to be delivered (for to be brought hither unto us into

free-booters had possession of the City of London, they spoiled and plundered the house of Philip Malpas, the rich Alderman and Mercer, who had borne so conspicuous a part in the case concerning the violation of our sanctuary, detailed at length in the preceeding pages.

this our Citie of Rochester) to the bringer hereof, for certain maters concerning our person : and faileth not thereof as ye wold eschewe our displeasure. Given under our signet at our saide citie the 16 daie of Ffevrier.

“ To our trustie and wel-beloved Clerke,
Master Richard Cawdray, Dean of
St. Martin's.”

The Dean, on the receipt of this Writ of Privy Seal, repaired to Rochester, produced his bulls, charters, and muniments, to use the words of my authority, as well under “ lede as wax ; ” and the King, with the advice of his counsellors, “ the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset, the Earls of Shrewsbury and Worcester, Lords Cromwell, Lisle, Beauchamp, Saint Amant, &c. ; Judges Prisot and Portington, with Master Richard Andrew, his secretary,” after a long debate, answered, that he would not break the immunities conferred by the royal prerogative itself, but recommended that the traitor should be kept close from committing further mischief.

The historian for want of minute connecting links, and knowledge of the secret springs of action, must be often short-sighted in the policy of Courts ; for Cayme soon after received the King's pardon, and was admitted, says the MS. “ a cherished person with the Duke of Somerset in his chamber.” Cayme might be acquainted with the secret counsels of the Duke

of York, and willing, as the price of his own pardon, to betray them.

The variance between Edmund Beaufort Duke of Somerset and Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, with the steps which the latter adopted previously to the open declaration of his well-founded pretensions to the crown, form a prominent point in the history of this period. The Queen and the Duke of Somerset advised the King to a simulated compromise with Richard Plantagenet, when the followers of the latter were arrayed in battle on Dartford Brent.

About this time I find in the archives on which these notices are founded, mention of "discord between the Duke of Somerset and Richard Duke of York," on account, as is stated, of the spoliation on the one hand of the Duke of Somerset's goods by the retainers of the Duke of York, at the house of the Friar-preachers; and on the other, of the incarceration of the servants of Richard, at the instance of his adversary, within the Tower of London.

At Somerset's recommendation also, the King issued his mandate to William Oldehall *, Cham-

* Richard Duke of York, in his letters to the King, in the year 1542, accuses certain of his enemies of a design to imprison himself, and strike off the head of Sir William Oldehall, knight.—Stow's Chronicle, edit. 1592, p. 641.

berlain of the Duke of York, that he should not presume to quit the City of London under heavy penalties. Oldehall, who was doubtless a zealous partizan of his master, fearing for his life, took sanctuary in St. Martin's. The King, by the instigation of Somerset, demanded him from the Dean, as an author of treasonable practices: but the Dean again withstood a precedent so destructive of his franchise, and on representation to the King, who was in his own person most tenacious of preserving the liberties of the holy Church, Henry heard and admitted the strength of Cawdray's representations. It, however, chanced soon after, that an officer of the Court, Walter Burgh, was wounded by some assassins in the public street, when Oldehall's enemies raised a report, that he was the perpetrator of the deed. A number of Lords of the Queen and Somerset's party, willingly joined by Matthew Philip before mentioned, repaired to St. Martin's at an advanced hour of the night, burst the gates of the Sanctuary, searched for Oldehall, found and carried him off triumphant. Although the party against the Duke of York was now high and successful, and a proclamation had been recently issued against him, the rights of our church were ultimately respected.

After two days detention, Oldehall was restored to St. Martin's. The King's advisers

wished officers of the Court to be placed in the Sanctuary to watch his motions, but the Dean successfully resisted this abridgement of his jurisdiction, and finally the parties who had violated sanctuary, in order to avoid the spiritual penalties denounced by the Church, confessed their error, and purchased absolution by rich offerings to the holy foundation whose privileges they had infringed. Cawdray, the Dean, took care to have the whole of this matter circumstantially recorded in the following form:

“ To all the faithful of Christ, to whom the present letters, or public instrument shall come ; and whom the underwritten may or in future shall in any manner concern. Richard Caudray, Dean of the royal free chapel of St. Martin (in no manner pertaining to the Apostolic See), health, in the author of health, and undoubted faith to be reposed in these presents. We have brought to the knowledge of you all by these present letters, that a discord arising between the noble and illustrious Prince and Lord Richard Duke of York and Edmund Duke of Somerset, especially on account of the spoliation of the goods of the said Duke of Somerset, at the Friar-Preachers * in London, and afterwards on account of the imprisonment within the Tower of London of certain councillors and other officers and domestics of the same Duke of York, effected at the instigation of the Duke of Somerset, and also by reason of a certain mandate on the part of our Lord the King, to William Oldehall, Chamberlain, and one of the councillors of the Duke of York, enjoining that he should not

* The Black or Dominican Friars.

depart out of the city until he had further command from the King, which William Oldehall afterwards, prompted by fear of heavy imprisonment, and greatly alarmed for his life, inasmuch as some of his mortal enemies, and especially one Walter Burgh of the King's household, among other slanders for his ruin with the King, did not scruple to accuse him as the author of the deed above-mentioned; and also because he, the said William Oldehall, stood bound in certain sums of money to other persons, he, on the 23rd day of the month of November, in the thirtieth of the reign of our Lord the King, before break of day, entered personally the Sanctuary of St. Martin's, there to obtain immunity for the causes premised, and humbly begged that he might be protected according to the privileges of the said Sanctuary, and immediately after stood registered and admitted agreeably to the forms of sanctuary. Of which transaction, when the King had certain notice, and was also informed by some enemies of the Sanctuary, that sanctuary of this kind, or the privileges of the same, ought by no means to hold or protect any traitor against the King, he sent to us, strictly enjoining on our faith and due allegiance, that we should shew to his Highness the privileges of the said place of St. Martin. Whereupon we, apprehending to incur the displeasure of so great a prince, thought proper actually to produce the privileges of the Sanctuary before our Lord the King and his council at Westminster. Moreover, our Lord the King (after various disputes, obstacles, and allegations, against the privilege by the council of the King, and especially by the Duke of Somerset, entertained and alleged), held the said privileges confirmed, allowed, and approved, and willed, commanded, ordered, and released us, the Dean, and the said William Oldehall, to be free from all further vexation on pretence of dispensing with the privileges aforesaid. Now it afterwards happened that on the eighteenth day of the month of January next coming, towards night, that the above-named Walter Burgh, was so atrociously wounded

in the City of London, by three men altogether unknown to him, that his life was despaired of. Of which deed, when the King was apprized, the whole crime was laid and imputed to the said William Oldehall, whereupon, as in complaisance to our Lord the King, the Earls of Salisbury, Wiltshire, Worcester, Barons de Lysle and de Moleyns, with their servants, together with Mathew Philip, Sheriff of London, and Alderman of the Ward in which the Sanctuary is situate and stands, with their adherents, all at once, and in a multitude, armed with grievous force, not having the fear of God before their eyes, unseasonably entered the said Sanctuary between the eleventh and twelfth hour of the night, where forcing open and breaking all the doors and chests of our, the Dean's house, in search of the said William Oldehall, and descending into the nave of the church * by a certain tower, they drew forth William Oldehall by force, and brought him on horseback to the royal palace at Westminster, where, when they had detained him for the two following days, we, the Dean aforesaid, at the time being far distant from the City of London, in spite of all difficulties returning about the second hour after noon of the day following the extraction aforesaid, solicited of the King's clemency, at the instigation of certain Bishops and others, restitution of William Oldehall to the Sanctuary, which, within two days, by the merits of St. Martin and the excellent disposition of the King, we obtained ; and William Oldehall was delivered up, and actually restored to us in the gate of the Friar-Preachers by the servants of the King in the presence of the Duke of Somerset and others ; and thus we led him back in mid-day, in his proper person, in sight of many of the people. The King afterwards grievously informed concerning the said

* From a private door, perhaps in a turret, communicating with the Dean's lodging ; similar passages are not uncommon in our ancient churches.

Duke of York by certain of his letters sent to divers cities, lords, and other persons, sent again for us to exhibit our privileges, which being examined and investigated for three days before the venerable and great man Richard Andrew, Doctor of Law, at that time Secretary to our Lord the King, and three other Doctors of Law, skilled in matters of right, were found full and sufficient to protect whatever persons who, for what cause soever, criminal or civil, might fly to sanctuary of this nature; whereon, four yeomen of the crown (*vadlectas coronæ*) of our Lord the King, by his command, as it was said, were deputed with five of their servants, strictly to guard the said William Oldehall within the Sanctuary least he should go out of the same, and were directed not to suffer him to transact, write, or speak any thing but in their presence and hearing. Now we, perceiving that this matter was to the great prejudice of our Sanctuary, humbly and devoutly prayed the King that he would deign to remove the four yeomen with their servants from the same, which in the end was graciously granted, together with the heavy expenses which we had incurred for obtaining the release of William Oldehall. Moreover, afterwards, the Earls, Barons, Nobles, and others, who were present at, and consenting to the wicked deed before recited, being contrite and moved by repentance, confessed to us, and others having sufficient licence and authority to hear their confessions, and a few days after having made reparation according to their ability, to God and St. Martin, by certain huge tapers of wax, gold, jewels, and other oblations, they obtained the benefit of absolution from the heavy sentences of excommunication contained in several papal bulls, and especially in the bulls of Alexander * and Lucius, particularly directed against those infringing the liberties of the place aforesaid; and also from the general sen-

† Vide p. 73.

tence against those infringing the freedom of the church, published four times in the year in all the churches throughout the world ; and thus they, through their acknowledgment and humility above-named, enjoyed by pious intercessions, as far as human frailty can presume, the mercy of God and of the Holy Mother Church. All and singular of the above, in perpetual memory of the matter and greater corroboration of our privileges, we, Richard Caudray the Dean, have caused to be published and digested in the form of the present instrument, by a Notary Public, and to pass under our seal."

About 1454 the party of Richard Plantagenet became powerful and ascendant, the Duke of Somerset was impeached and committed to the Tower, and the King fell into a distemper, attended by a mental imbecility, which rendered him incapable of appearing even as the ostensible head of Government, and the Duke of York was constituted Protector. The Protector had no superstitious veneration for the privileges of sanctuary ; for at this time I find a mandate in the King's name to the Chancellor, Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, directing him to make certain letters patent under the Great Seal, which, while they set forth that the free chapel of St. Martin's was no part of the City of London, and enumerated the extent of its privileges, imposed on them for the first time the just and reasonable restraint, that if any sanctuary-man should issue forth for the

purpose of committing offences, and should shelter himself again within the precinct, the Dean might expel him from the place, and call in the secular arm to enforce such expulsion.

On the recovery of the King, the Protector was deprived of his office, and Somerset released; the Duke then determined to recover his power by open force.

The flames of civil war accordingly burst forth in 1455, and the accommodation that took place after the battle of St. Albans in that year, placing all the actual rule in the hands of Richard Duke of York, and his party, suppressed them only for a time, to burst forth with redoubled violence.

The lawless inhabitants of St. Martin's became, during these intestine commotions, more daring and obnoxious than ever to the City. They issued forth on some occasion boldly from their citadel in a body, assaulted and severely wounded several of the citizens, and retired again within the precinct. The Mayor and Aldermen put themselves at the head of the citizens, forced open the gates of the Sanctuary and bore off several of the ring-leaders. The Dean preferred his complaint for breach of privilege, as on former occasions, the Mayor was summoned to attend the King, at that time in Hertfordshire, but the Citizens of London were

now treated with greater respect, and were directed to keep their prisoners until the matter could be more strictly investigated.

In the subsequent year a serious affray took place between the citizens and foreigners resident in London. The sanctuary-men sallied out and joined the mob in the plunder of the unfortunate strangers *.

These enormities at length produced the following articles, enacted by the King's Council, in the Star Chamber, for the better government of the Sanctuary of St. Martin's. They afford a comprehensive sketch of the nature of its inmates.

" The fifth of Fevver, the yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne Lord King Henry VI. thirty fifth : at Westminster in the Sterre Chamber, our said soveraigne Lord calling to high remembrance the good and blessed entent that his full noble progenitors have at all times had to the honour, worship, conservation, and wele, of the free chapel of St. Martin within the City of London, of which the King, our soveraigne Lord, is founder and patron, desiring to do all that may serve to the ease and restful roule of the same, and conservation of the Sanctuary, immunity, privileges, and liberties as appertain to the said chapel and place, and willing that hereafter, none occasion be geven to the breach or hurting them ; remembering also the great complaints, grudging, and displeasure,

* Two sanctuary men of St. Martin's were afterwards tried for having joined in plundering Antonio Moricin, and other Lombards, and were executed at Tyburn.

that his subjects have taken, and especially the citizens and commonalty of the said City of London, of the demeaning of the misruled persons coming and abiding in the same place, under umbre and colour of the Sanctuary there, the which have at divers times issued out of the Sanctuary, and committed many ryots, robberies, manslaughters, and other mischiefs, wherethrough the said Sanctuary hath been greatly dislaundered; and (over that) great inconvenience like to ensue.

After great deliberation and communication had, as well with Doctors of Divinity as of Law, civill, and canonically; called also thereto, the Judges of this our land, and their advices had in that behalfe; other men also of great wisdom and experience, for the weale and conservation of the said Sanctuary; and to eschew the said misgovernance and mischief, called also before our said sovereigne Lord and his counsell, the Maior and the Aldermen of the said city, and Master Richard Cawdray, Dean of the said place of St. Martin's. Our sovereigne Lord (by the advice of his counsell above-said) ordained, granted, and established, certain articles underwritten, to bee kept and observed within the said Sanctuary from this time forth, without interruption of them; willing and ordaining that the said Deane, that now is, promise by his oath, the observance of the same for the time that hee shall bee Deane there, and that every Deane after him, in his admission to the said Deanery, be sworne to keepe the said articles in semblable wise, and make them to be kept within the said Sanctuary.

The which articles beene such as follow:—

I. That every person fugitive, coming unto the said Sanctuary for tuition, and challenging to enjoy the immunities and privileges; at his entrie as soon as he commodiously and reasonably may, shall now present himselfe unto the said Deane, his Commissarie, or Depute, in that behalfe, and before him declare the cause of the feare moving him to come to the

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said Sanctuarie, be it for treason, felony surmised upon him, or for other causes ; and that the said declaration and cause, be registered in the common register, ordained therefore, in the said sanctuary, and the name of the said fugitive.

II. Item. That hee at his first entrie, present and deliver unto the said Deane, Commissarie, or Depute, all manner of weapon and armour that he bringeth with him as well invasive as defensive, and that he be not suffered to weare or use any sunch weapon or armour, or it to have in his keeping within the Sanctuary in any wise, except a reasonable knife to kerve withall his meate, and that the said knife be pointlesse.

III. Item. That every erraunt and open theefe, robber, murderer, and felon, notoriously noised by the common fame of the people, or if the saide Deane, Commissary, or Depute, be credibly informed, or due proove be given or made, that he is such one, and repairing to the said Sanctuary, to the intent that he shall not, under colour of the said Sanctuary, intend to doe further mischief, find sufficient securte to bee made unto the King as well by his own obligation as by the obligation of other of good bearing for the time of his abode within the said Sanctuary, and for a quarter of a yeere after his departing out of the same. And that hee be kept in ward unto the time he have found and made the said securte. And if it so be, that it be complained or shewed unto the King's Highnesse that the said securte be not sufficient, that then at the commaundement of the said Councell (if it bee thought necessary) the said Deane, Commissary, or Depute, shall take other and better securte, or else commit them to ward unto the time better securte be found. Foreseene alway, that if the said fugitive will depart out of the said Sanctuary, that hee may so do when he will.

IV. Item. That all the out gates, as well posternes, doores, as all other issues outward, whatever they be, of the said Sanctuary be surely closed and shut nightly at nine of the clocke ; and so remaine shut from the same houre unto sixe of the

clocke in the morning, from the Feast of Allhallows unto the Feast of Candlemasse; and the remanent of the yeere, nightly, from the said houre of nine unto foure of the clocke in the morning, or unto the time of the first masse beginneth within the said place: and that all those that ben fled to the said Sanctuary for treason or felony be within the closure on night's time.

V. Item. If any such theefe, murderer, or felon, resort to the said Sanctuary for tuition of the same with any manner robbery, or stolen goods, if the party robbed make fresh sute therefore, and prove, by open evidence, that the same felon hath brought into the said Sanctuary the said goods so stolen thence, the said Deane, Commissary, or Depute, shall put in true devoir, withouten any dissimulation, fraud, or malengyne, to make full restitution unto the party so grieved, of the said stolen goods; if they can be had. And semblably, if any fugitive come to the said Sanctuary with other men's goods, merchandize, or things, intending there to live with the same, and the owner of the said goods, merchandize, or things, make prooffe that they be his, and verifie that they be brought into the said Sanctuary, the said Deane, Commissarie, or Depute, shall put him in full devoire, to make restitution to the party so proving that the same goods, merchandizes, or things, were his. And no fugitive, nor none dwelling within the said Sanctuary, shall receive, conceale, nor buy any such goods, but that they bee brought to the said Deane, Commissary, or Depute, to the end that the owners may have the sooner knowledge of them. And if the said goods, so stolen and brought to the said Sanctuary, be concealed from the said Deane, Commissary, or Depute, and brought by any dwelling in the said Sanctuary, that then the buyer (abiding there) make restitution or satisfaction to the party grieved, proving the said goods so stolen to bee his, and so sold in the same Sanctuary.

VI. Item. If any person having tuition of the said Sanctuary,

from thence issue out by day or by night, and commit or do any robbery, murder, treason, or felony, or battery, so done, withouten forth, commit the same misdoer to ward, there to remaine as long as he will abide in the Sanctuary. And if so be he will departe from thence, he shall departe at an hour to be assigned unto him by day betwixt sunne and sunne.

VII. Item. That subtle pickers of locks, counterfeitours of keys, contrivers of seals, forgers of false evidences, workets of counterfeit chaines, beades, brouches, ouches, rings, cups, spoones silvered, and plates of copper gilt, uttered for gold, unto the common hurt of the people, be not suffered in the said Sanctuary. And if any, being within the said Sanctuary, be holden suspect of the things aforesaid, let him be committed to ward till he find sufficient surety, as in the third article abovesaid.

VIII. Item. That common putuers, strumpets, and bawdes, be not suspected in the Sanctuary: and if they claim the tuition of the said Sanctuary, that they be set in open ward on day times, till shame cause them to depart, or to amende their vicious living.

IX. Item. That deceitfull games, as playes at hazzard, the dice, the guek, the kayelles, the cloysh, and other such unleeftull and reproveable games bee not used, supported, nor cherished within the said Sanctuary.

X. Item. That all artificers dwelling within the said Sanctuary (as well barbours as other) keepe holy the Sundayes, and other great festivall dayes, without breach, or exercising of their craft, in such wise as done by the inhabitants of the said city of London. And if they doe the contrary to bee committed to ward till they finde sufficient surety, as in the third article abovesaid, to use their crafts in manner and forme as doe the inhabitant^s of the said city, and according to the ordinances of the same city.

XI. Item. That every person coming to the said Sanctuary for immunity and tuition of the same, that hee, at his admis-

sion to the said Sanctuary be sworne on a booke, to obey, keepe, and observe the articles abovesaid, and every each of them with their pains and rules appertaining to the same. And the King, by the advice abovesaid, would, granted, and ordained, that this act be exemplified under his Greate Seale, and be enrolled in his Chancellary; to the intent that the ordinance abovesaid remaine of record, and that his subjects made have knowledge thereof.

The clergy about this period observing the decay of learning, and the injury it sustained from numerous illiterate pretenders, who undertook the tuition of youth, petitioned the King for the establishment of public schools; and among others, one was erected in St. Martin's-le-Grand *.

In 1460 the claims of Richard Duke of York, who had fallen in the battle of Wakefield, were recognized by the elevation of his son Edward to the throne.

In 1463 Robert Stillington, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, was appointed to the Deanery. By an instrument under his seal, Stillington appoints John Bedford, Bachelor of Arts, Commissary-general for the peculiar jurisdiction of the Chapel of St. Martin's, in all

* Or rather was revived, for Fitzstephen says, "*In Londenâ, tres principales ecclesiæ scholæ celebres habent, de privilegio et antiquâ dignitate.*" These three schools were at St. Paul's, the Priory of the Trinity, and St. Martin's-le-Grand. —Vide Fitzstephen, *Descript. nobilissimæ civitat. London.* Stow's London, edit. 1603, p. 569.

places without the City of London, for all and singular causes and affairs relating to the same.

In 1466, the powerful nobleman Richard Neville Earl of Warwick, neglected by the King, began to concert his plan for the restoration of Henry VI. John de Vere Earl of Oxford, who had married Warwick's sister, joined his party. The Countess of Oxford appears to have taken refuge in St. Martin's about this time *, doubtless on account of the political conduct of her husband and brother.

In 1470 the Bishop of Ely, with other prelates of the Church, were sheltered by our Sanctuary on the same account, and it may be observed, that in cases like these only, was sanctuary beneficial; it often afforded security in the heat of civil commotions to the weaker side, and stayed the bloody hand of that in power.

In 1471, "the King-making Earl of Warwick" restored his puppet representative of royalty to an uneasy throne, which he re-occupied for about seven months. The bloody battle of Barnet was fatal to the Lancastrian cause; where the Earl of Warwick was defeated and slain, and Edward again seated on the

* "The Cowntesse of Oxenfford is styll in Seynt Martin's I heer no worde of hyr."—Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 290.

throne. The death of the unfortunate Henry became now a matter of state policy, to crush further disturbance of the succession, and he was at length privately dispatched in his prison, the Tower of London. Historical report has assigned to Richard Duke of Gloucester, on no very certain foundation, the infamy of this deed. There is stronger presumptive evidence of his being the murderer of his infant nephews.

Sir Thomas More gives a very interesting account, too particular to be founded on a vague imputation of the circumstances which induced Richard to select Sir James Tyrell for this bloody deed, and a very touching one of its consummation. He cites his relation as being from the confession of Tyrell himself; and of Dighton his groom, one of the actual perpetrators of the deed, who were both apprehended on a charge of high treason in the reign of Henry the Seventh. Tyrell perished on the scaffold; Miles Forest, another of the assassins under his direction, says the historian, "rotted away piece-meal" in the Sanctuary of our church*.

Morton, Bishop of Ely, a leading favourer of the Earl of Richmond's party, was, as before stated,

* Historie of King Rycharde the Thirde; Sir Thomas More's Workes, p. 69.

at the close of Edward the Fourth's reign, in Sanctuary at St. Martin's-le-grand *. Under Richard the Third he was committed to the keeping of the Duke of Buckingham, who deserting the cause of his ambitious and sanguinary master, coalesced with his prisoner the Bishop, in measures to depose him and bring in the Earl of Richmond.

The first efforts of the Lancastrian party were unsuccessful, and Buckingham paid the forfeit of his life as a traitor to the majesty, which he had himself aided in endowing with sovereign power.

Among several who suffered as traitors for conspiring or taking arms against King Richard was Sir Roger Clifford, who, with another conspirator, was drawn through London to execution at Tower-hill ; as the procession passed the gates of St. Martin's, Clifford attempted to break from the custody of the Sheriffs and shelter himself in the saving precinct. The attempt was frustrated and he suffered ; his companion was pardoned †.

Shortly after, at the field of Bosworth, fought August 22, 1485, Richard was slain, fighting with the fury of despair for a crown which, ob-

* The Bysheop of Ely, with othyr Bysheopys, ar in Seynt Martyn's, (anno 1470.)—Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 52.

† Stow's Summarie of the Chronicles of Eng. to 1598, p. 301.

tained by secret murder, he was constrained to support by bloody severity.

James Stanley, brother of the Earl of Derby, was Dean of St. Martin's in 1493. The measures which were adopted by Henry the Seventh for abridging the privileges of sanctuary in this year have been noticed in another place *. The pretensions of the counterfeit Plantagenet, Perkin Warbeck, who was tutored by Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, were now openly declared, and the King's enemies circulated rumours asserting the verity of his claims. The King therefore thus assailed, paid little respect to sanctuary in cases of sedition, for four persons accused of slanderously libelling him were taken from the Sanctuary of our church, and arraigned at Guild-hall; three put themselves on the issue of their trial by pleading not guilty, were convicted and executed; but the fourth, more wisely it would seem, pleaded his right to be restored to sanctuary, and as the law of the land stood, his plea was acknowledged †.

Circumstances about this period arose which led to a material alteration in the state of our church.

Henry, now the victorious and crowned representative of the House of Lancaster, testified

* P. 30.

† Stow's Ann. edit. 1592, p. 796.

great respect for the memory of Henry the Sixth, whose body had been obscurely buried at Chertsey, and afterwards removed by King Richard the Third to St. George's Chapel Windsor. He would have procured the canonization of the unfortunate monarch as a saint, had not the Court of Rome set too high a pecuniary value on conceding the honour of that title. The King, however, projected the erection of some edifice worthy of commemorating the entombment of his ancestor, and the foundations of Westminster and Chertsey Abbeys and Windsor Chapel, all preferred their claims to the distinction of affording sepulture, within their walls, to the mortal remains of the sixth Henry. The matter was gravely considered by the King and his council, and decision given in favour of the Abbat and Monks of Westminster.

The body of Henry the Sixth was actually translated from Chertsey to Westminster by the convent of the latter place, at the expence of 500 marks*; and Henry the Seventh determined to erect a chapel on the spot, and to endow it duly as a chantry wherein daily orisons should be sung for the souls of himself, his Queen, and all Christian people.

In execution of the above purpose, the chapel,

* Widmore's Hist. of Westm. Abbey, p. 121.

dedicated to the Holy Virgin, was built behind the High Altar of the venerable Abbey Church, and still remains the admiration of later ages for the inimitable richness and delicacy of its architectural decorations. A formal indenture was drawn between the King and Islip, Abbat of Westminster, by which the latter engaged, for himself and his successors, the performance of the King's intentions relative to this foundation. Estates of more than a thousand marks in yearly value were granted to the Abbat in support of the new institution. The Advowson and possessions of the Deanery of St. Martin-le-Grand, with various other royal free chapels and their appurtenances, were given to him and his successors for the same purpose for ever*, in the following form :

* The endowment was made for the maintenance of three Monks to chaunt the daily service of the chapel, for two lay Brothers and three Students at the University, for distributions in alms at the weekly and annual obits of Henry VII. and his Queen, for the keeping of his anniversary by the two Universities, the Cathedral churches of Canterbury, London, and Rochester, for twelve almsmen, a priest to say mass to them, and three aged women to attend them. The indenture between the King and Abbat Islip is still preserved in the Harleian Library at the British Museum. It is a superb manuscript on vellum, consisting of many folio leaves, illuminated, and enveloped in a costly covering of crimson velvet, decorated with silver, embossed, and enamelled ornaments ; representing

"The livedol amortised to the Abbey of Westm^r for this fundacion.

"And the said Kyng our souverayne lord, for the causes and consideracions afore rehersed, hath geven and graunted, and caused to be geven and graunted to the said Abbot, Priour, and Convent, and their successours, the advowson of the Deanry of Saynte Martins le Graunde, in the Citie of London, and of chanonries, prebends, churches, and chapells of the same, and hath caused the said deanry and all the said chanonries, prebends, churches, chapells, and all londs, ten'ts, and possessions, with all profits, com'odities, emoluments, and appurtenances of the same deanry, chanonries, prebends, and other premisses, excepte the prebends of Newelonde ffounded by Herberte, to be appropred, unied, and annexed to the said Abbot, Priour, and Convent, and their successours, at the propre costes and charges of the same Kyng our souverayn lorde, whiche deanry, chanonries, churches, chapells and prebends, and the lands and ten'ts and possessions, with all profits, com'odities, emoluments and appurtenances of the same, excepte before excepted, the said Abbot, Priour, and Convent by their owne assent and consent have accepted and taken at the yeerly value of two hundreth three score six pounce thirtene shelyngs foure pens over and besides all yeerly charges †.

The Collegiate Church of St. Martin-le-Grand becoming now attached and subordinate to the Abbey of Westminster, Stanley before-mention-

the rose, the port-cullis, the King's-arms supported by the wyvern and greyhound, &c. There are four royal seals, in silver boxes, attached by gold-tissue strings to the MS.

† Indent. between Hen. VII. and John Islip, Abbat of St. Pet. Westm. and the Prior and Conv. of the same, dated 17 July, 19 Hen. VII. A. D. 1503. Harl. MSS. No. 1498.

ed was, in all probability, the last independent Dean of the foundation, and in 1506 he was preferred to the Bishopric of Ely. Godwin says of him that he had little other distinction to boast than that which was attached to his birth; seldom resident in his See, he passed his time either in the company of a favourite woman, not to say concubine, or with his brother the Earl in the county of Derby. He died anno 1515*.

The Abbats of Westminster now assumed the office of Deans of St. Martin's, and the duties of the Prebends of our church were performed by Vicars of their appointment †. A new official seal was prepared, which bore for its legend, "*Sigillum Decani et Capelle Collegii Sancti Martini Westmonasterii* ‡.

The jurisdiction of St. Martin's being merged in that of Westminster, little of historical note after this period remains on record relative to its affairs. It remained attached to the Abbey of Westminster during the several changes which the latter underwent. When Edward VI. dissolved the Bishopric of Westminster, which his predecessor had erected, St. Martin's-le-Grand, with its dependencies, for a short time was subjected to the See of London, but by the

* Godwin de Præsul.

† See Archbishop Crammer's Letter, p. 164.

‡ Original in possession of Mr. Caley. See the plate.

effect of an Act of Parliament * was soon after restored to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster as fully as their predecessors, the Abbat and Convent had enjoyed it.

The profligacy of some of the self-styled infallible successors of St. Peter †, the venal arts

* Stat. 5 and 6 Edw. VI.

† Never was the pretended infallibility of the Popes better refuted than by the scandalous life of Alexander VI. descended from the noble Spanish family of Borgia. A brief sketch of his life is given by the Italian poet, Sannazar (a catholic and his cotemporary), in a satirical Latin epitaph, which may be thus rendered; "Traveller, perchance thou knowest not to whom this sepulchre belongs, stay, unless the name of Alexander offend thee. This is not he surnamed The Great, but he who lately inspired by the wanton thirst of blood overturned so many famous cities, put so many princes to death that he might enrich his children. He ravaged, consumed, and destroyed countries by fire and sword, defying all laws human and divine, and even divinity itself. Horrid impiety! laying aside all shame, he refrained not from mingling the father in the nuptial tie with the daughter. Nevertheless he sate even as Pontiff in the city of Romulus eleven years. Traveller, say no more of Nero, Caligula, or Eligabalus, this man suffices for all. Modesty forbids a longer narrative.—Pursue thy way and guess the rest." This disgrace to Christianity and human nature perished by even-handed justice, literally administering "the poisoned chalice to his own lips."—He drank, through the error of a domestic at a feast, of a mortal potion which he had prepared, in concert with his natural son Cæsar Borgia, for an obnoxious Cardinal. The famous Leo X. was also of a scandalous life, and on one occasion said, that the fable of Christ had been most useful to him and his!—Vide Moreri: Dict. Historiq.

by which they prostituted their religion, the preaching of Luther had already prepared the minds of men for a reformation in religion.

The capricious and tyrannous nature of Henry VIII. was made by the wonder-working hand of Providence, a link in the chain of those events which were finally to crumble the Papal authority assumed over this happy island into dust.

In 1534 the Parliament, under the King's direction, declared him supreme head of the Church, and banished the power of the Roman Pontiff for ever from the realm.

This was for the time but pulling down one tyrant from his seat to set up a greater.

Commissions were issued to enquire into the abuses of religious houses, their trembling inmates were forced, however innocent, to confess themselves guilty of the most sinful and profligate living, and some instances of delinquency were employed to give colour of accusation against the whole*. The goods of the Church

* The following passage in the preamble of the surrender of the Convent of St. Andrew's, Northampton, may be taken as a specimen of these confessions, which, although they contained much truth in relation to the perversion of Christianity by papacy and monachism, were certainly forced by the tyrannous power of a reckless spoiler of the property of the Church.

“ But as well we as others our predecessors called religious

were seized, and alienated to laymen, the professors of monastic orders were thrust out into

persons within your said monastery, taking on us the habite or outwarde vesture of the saide rule only to the intent to leade our liffes in ydle quyetnes, and not in vertuous exercyse; in a stately estymacion, and not in obedient humylyte, have undre the shadow or colour of the saide rule and habite vainly, destestably, and also ungodly employed, yea rather devoured the yerely revenues yssuing and comyng of the said possessions in contynuall ingurgitacions and farcyngs of our carayne (carrion) bodies, and of others the supporters of our voluptuose and carnall apetyte, to the manifest subversion of devotion and clennes of lyvyng, and to the notable slaunder of Chrysts holy Evangely, which in the forme of our professyon we dyd ostentate and openly advaunte to keepe most exactly, withdrawing thereby from the symple and pure myndys of your graces subjects the only truth and comfort which they oughte to have by the true faith of Christ, and also the devyne honor and glory onely due to the majesty of God Almyghty, steryng them with all persuasions, ingynes, and polyce to dedd images, and counterfett reliques for our dampnable lucre, which our most horryble abhominacions and execrable persuacions of your Graces people, to detestable errours, and our long coveryd ipocrysie cloked with fayned sanctite, we revolvynge daily, and continually ponderyng in our sorowfull harts, and thereby persevyng the botomles gulf of everlasting fyre, redy to devoure us if persysting in this state of levyng, we shulde departe from this uncertayn and transytory liffe, &c. &c." By a sweeping Act of Parliament, which in the first instance gave into the King's hands all the smaller religious houses, under two hundred pounds annual rental, followed by another which confirmed to him the surrenders of the larger; the whole of the monastic property was soon in the possession of the Crown. The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem alone re-

the world on scanty pensions, and the indigent, who were daily fed by the alms of monastic establishments, were deprived of that relief. The creed of the subject was now to be directed by the pleasure of the King; the scaffold and the burning pile awaited those who refused to submit their consciences to that test.

From such atrocious deeds in the name of the Father of Mercies and of mankind, the mind turns aside as it were with something of incredibility.

While the preliminary steps to this great ecclesiastical revolution were on foot, the City of London thought proper again juridically to impugn the privileges of the precinct of St. Martin's. William Benson, the Abbat of Westminster, defended, as Dean, the jurisdiction of his church. The particulars of a process which nearly resembled that before given, would trespass too much on the patience of the reader in this place. The Abbat produced evidence in the Court of Chancery, shewing the extent of the Sanctuary; this will be noticed in the Addenda.

fused to subscribe to these humiliating instruments; they were therefore ousted of their possessions, and entirely suppressed by Act of Parliament, while pensions were allowed them by "assent of the King's most excellent goodness."—Weever's *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, edit. 1631, p. 107 and 112. Stat. 28, 31, and 32 Hen. VIII.

In 1533 I find a letter of the celebrated Archbishop Cranmer, addressed to the Abbat of Westminster, soliciting the appointment of one of the Archbishop's friends as a Vicar in the College of St. Martin's.

" TO THE ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER.

" In my right harty wise I commend me unto you, and whereas it is signified unto me, that at this season there is a place or room of a Vicar void within the College of St. Martin's, in the City of London, by the death of one Mr. Frampton, late incumbent there, where also you are Dean, and as I understand, as yet not appointed or named to any person, in consideration whereof, and forasmuch as it lyeth in you, by reason of your Deanry to do therein, I hartly require you to shew your lawful favour here in preferment of this said room unto this bearer, Sir John Smith, one of the same College, in that, forasmoch as he being both of honest conversation and good name, thereby may have the more furtherance in this behalf, before another stranger, not being your friend and acquaintance, and in so doing you shal deserve of me like commodity: and thus fare you wel. From our Manour of Mortlake, the 4 of May *."

In the year 1542, the second of the reign of Edward the Sixth, all chantries, free chapels, and brotherhoods, were granted to the King; and by this act, the venerable fabric of St. Martin's church being at the disposal of the Crown, it was levelled with the ground†, the spot which

* Lansdowne MSS. No. 1045, fol. 61.

† An admeasurement made from the vestiges of the east

had for ages resounded by day and night with the seraphic music, and had been distinguished by all the splendid pageantry of the Roman Church, was now occupied by a number of new buildings; on the site* of the High Altar a large wine tavern was erected, and many other houses built over the whole precinct, and let at high rents to foreigners, who there, says an old and accurate historian, "claimed the benefit of privileges granted to the Canons serving God day and night, as in the words of the Conqueror's charter, which could hardly be wrested to artificers, buyers and sellers, otherwise than is mentioned in the 21st chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel †."

The work of the Reformation proceeded in a steady course during the reign of the sixth Ed-

end of the church, which were apparent in 1818, to the line of the street against which the west door formerly abutted, proved that the fabric must have been upwards of two hundred feet in length. The demolition of these noble monuments of our ancient national architecture must ever be recorded with regret.

* The property of the site remained in the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. These buildings on the area of the church were called the New Rents.—Vide Plan of the Precinct.

† This is a smart reproof by old Stow for the knavish tradesmen of St. Martin's. The verse he alludes to is, "My house shall be called a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves."—Vide Stow's Survey, Aldersgate Ward.

ward. Under the domination of the gloomy and cruel bigot Mary it was retarded, and persecution again displayed her torch, and lash of steel. In a short time Elizabeth was placed on the throne; a monarch admirably calculated to unite all suffrages, to render her people great and respected abroad, unanimous and happy at home. Absolute as she was, she was the founder of British liberty; she shook the aristocracy which had for so many ages given the power to the strongest of the nobles, to its foundation; she encouraged learning and true religion; her failings were those of princes, sometimes conceiving themselves obliged to sacrifice justice to policy; her firm and patriotic principles were the blessings of her subjects, as their consequences are of their posterity.

The extra-civic immunities * which still remained to the consecrated ground of St. Martin's attracted, as has been remarked, a number of foreign artizans to a spot where they could exercise their respective callings without molestation from the City. In the time of Elizabeth the inhabitants of St. Martin's Liberty were chiefly French, Germans, Dutch, and Scots; the trades carried on, those of shoe-makers, tailors, makers of buttons and of button moulds,

* See the curious rent-roll from the Records in the Augmentation Office in the Additamenta.

goldsmiths, manufacturers of pouches or purses*, some stationers, merchants, and silk-weavers, two throwsters or weavers of silk thread, who are recorded as being the first who practised that art in this country †.

In 1593 a census of the foreigners resident within the City of London being taken, those established within the precinct of St. Martin's were also returned, distinguishing between strangers by law and such as had become denizens by the King's letters patent, which gave them the privileges of an English subject, as far as related to the acquisition or sale of property, but fell short of naturalization, because they conferred no privilege of inheritance by descent.

"A brieve extract of the number of all the straungers inhabiting within the Citty of London, with their children and servants, according to certificates made by every severall Warde of London 4 May 1593 ‡.

Aldersgate.—St. Martin's-le-Grand.

Strangers	-	57	{	Denysors	-	-	45
				Non-Denysors	-	-	12
Their Children		112					
Men and women Ser-			{	English borne Servauntes			
vants	-	115	}	kept by Strangers	-	98	
				English borne Servauntes			
				set on work by Strangers	0		

* More anciently styled Gipcieres, and in the 16th century still an exterior appendage. The ancient cut-purse, through the change of modes, has given place to the modern pick-pocket.

† Stow's Survey by Strype, vol. i. p. 614.

‡ Burghley Papers, Bibl. Lansd. No. 74.

By which document, deducting the English domestics from the return, it appears that the foreign population of St. Martin's precinct amounted to 196 souls.

In the same year a petition was preferred by the officers of the franchise to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, for the redress of certain irregularities which had their licence from the peculiar nature of the place. The plague was then raging, the frequent visitant of old London, when the air was confined by houses projecting story above story, as they rose, so that the inhabitants of two opposite garrets could almost join hands from out of their windows, and when the under drainage of filthy and stagnant waters by means of sewers was not yet completely effected.

The Treasurer referred the matter to the opinion of two learned lawyers, Serjeant Owen and Master Lewis, which is given with the memorial itself.

" Disorders committed in the Precinct of S. Martins-le-Grand, humbly submitted to the Lord Treasurer for redress *.

" To the Right Honorable the Lorde Burghley, Lord High Treasurer of England.

" Complayninge hereon, and humbly beseeching your honorable Lordship, your humble suppliantes, the Constable, Headboroughers, and Inhabitantcs of the precincts of St. Martyn's-le-Graunde, in London, of certayne disorders and

* Bibl. Lansdowne, No. 74. article 32.

inconveniencies in the said precincte which by your Lordshipp's favorable assistance and direction that prays may be reformed, vizt.

" First, That by a statute late made, the serche and view of all wares of shoe-makers and cordwayners within the Citie of London and three miles of the same are under the Lorde Mayor and his officers thereto appointed, which officers enter into this liberty at their pleasure, and there searche and viewe their wares, never callinge the officer of the Libertye or making him pryvie thereunto, and being reprov'd for same; sayeth he will come and searche there without calling the officer, in despite of them, in breache of the Libertyes there.

" *Opinion.*—We think that the searchers may enter the Libertye and searche alone, but for that the benefytt of the forfeiture is given to the Libertye, we think it convenient y^t the Lords officer shulde be with them, w^{ch} we think may be obtained, yf it please your Lordshipp to wright unto the Lorde Mayor in this behalfe.

" Item. There are diverse and sondrye of the inhabitants of the said Libertye, which being required to do their duties as good subjects and honest neighbours shold doe, refuse to wache or warde uppon occasion, or to contribute to such taxations and payments as for her Majesty's service and the good of the common wealth is sett or imposed uppon them, with the rest of the neighbours, or to doe that service y^t of dutie is for them to doe, a matter meete to be reformed, least the disorder bredes a general contempte of dutye and authoritie.

" *Opinion.*—We think for all matters w^{ch} concerne the service of the Quene, the inhabitantes are compellable to performe the same, but for other matters they must make some by-lawes and orders among themselves, to bynde themselves to the performance thereof.

" Item. There are certayne of the inhabitants whose houses God hath visited with sicknes, which will not obeye the orders appoynted in y^t behalfe, for they will not keepe shutt their

doores and windowes, or keepe themselves in their houses, but commonly make fourthe, and the red crosse set on their doores at night is strycken out by morninge, and threaten to mischiefe such as shall come to sett any suche crosse on their doore, and some of them repayre to the courte with their wares, a thing most dangerous for her Majestie and the nobillitye, most nedefull of presente reformation.

“Opinion.—We thinke suche disordered persons may be punished by amprysenment, and in this contagious tyme very convenient to be executed. And for that there is noe person in the said Libertye to comytt suche as shal be troublesome and offensive, but the gate-house is the place whither they have accustomed to carye suche as are comytted, being in another shaire and out of the Libertye, they therefore comonly bring acc’n [action] againste suche as comytt them, and soe put them to greate trouble and losse, for which purposes div’s honest men, and of the best sorte within the lybertye, humbly desire to have a pryson for punition of offenders and executor of justice established within the precincte of the Liberty, for w^{ch} cause we think it good, yf your Lordshipp shall lyke thereof, that your Lordshipp send comaundment by letter unto the constable and hedborougher of the place for suche purpose, and to asseesse the inhabitants of the Lybertye in reasonable sorte to contribute to the charge thereof, which, in our opinions, is the best means to refourme all abuses and disorders among them.

“May it therefore please your honourable Lordshippe, premises considered, to graunt to your suppliants such good ordynaunces for redress of the said disorders and sufficient authoritye for the execucon of the same for the good governance of the said Lybertye in pease, as to yo^r good Lordshipp’s discreete wisdomes shal be thought meete and convenient, and yo^r said suppliants, according to their bonden duties, shal dayelye praye for your honors good healthe and prosperous estate long to contynue.”

The Church of St. Martin rased to the earth, and its existence as an ecclesiastical foundation terminated, these Notices naturally approach their close.

It remains briefly to recount the destination of its site and precinct in the 19th century.

The situation of the Post Office in Lombard-street having been found inconvenient from want of sufficient space, for the business of that important branch of public service, the Precinct of St. Martin-le-Grand was selected, as well calculated for the erection of a new Post Office on an enlarged plan.

An Act of Parliament was passed in 1815, making all necessary provisions for clearing the area formerly occupied by our Church and Sanctuary.

It would be foreign to the object of these pages to enter particularly into the execution of the above useful project. Suffice it to say, that by the local Act for providing a site for a new Post Office, the Metropolis of the British Empire achieved that conquest over the Precinct of St. Martin's which in former ages she had sought in vain: for by this decree the whole franchise was made to all intents and purposes a part of the City of London, reserving to St. Martin's-le-Grand a vestige only of her antient freedom, by enacting, that her inhabitants, although non-freemen of London, may carry on their trades

without impediment within the limits of her ancient franchise, and that the Court of Error or Appeal, commonly called St. Martin's-le-Grand Court, should remain undisturbed *.

Thus, in the wreck of Papal domination, effected by the march of the resistless, although retarded light of the holy Gospel, have sunk the Collegiate Church and Sanctuary of St. Martin-le-Grand; venerable still for recollections connected with our national history, and as a very early scene of that Christian worship which, though tarnished by many blind superstitions, was still marked by an extended system of charity, by much holy faith and fervour, respect for departed ancestors, and veneration for the edifices dedicated to the service of the Deity.

The Sanctuary of the debtor and the criminal is become the sacred depository whence to transmit the riches, the desires and commands of individuals, through all quarters of the civilized world; and thus the Precinct of St. Martin-le-Grand is in these later days appropriated to a purpose of inestimable convenience and utility.

* Stat. 55 Geo. III. cap. 91. sect. 71, 72, and 73. The householders of St. Martin-le-Grand have hitherto, as inhabitants of a Liberty attached to the Deanery of Westminster, voted at General Elections for the Parliamentary Candidates of that city. The Act now makes St. Martin-le-Grand a part of Aldersgate Ward. Still, so strong is prescriptive right, the inhabitants continue to vote for Westminster.— See *ibid.* sect. 75.

A D D I T A M E N T A.

"MONACHISM cherished arts, institutions, and sciences, which would otherwise have been lost in the military barbarism of the laity." Page 2.—To extend this observation, it may be added, that before the reformation by King Edgar and Dunstan, the monasteries, despoiled and impoverished during the Danish wars, were abandoned by the monks and occupied by the secular married clergy. Afterward, those who retained their wives and parochial cures, were termed Secular Clerks, and those who quitted both, Monks. In every great abbey was a large room, called the *Scriptorium*, where various monks were employed to transcribe books for the use of the library. They wrote sometimes the lieger books of the house, missals, and other formularies for divine service, but they were chiefly employed on the works of the Fathers, classics, and histories. John Whethamsted, Abbat of St. Alban's, caused above eighty books to be thus transcribed. Lands were often given by benefactors for the purposes of the *Scriptorium*; thus, in the register of St. Edinund's, "*Duo molendina in villâ de Stow pertinent ad Scriptorium.*" Registrars of historical events were appointed in abbeys of royal foundation. The charters of the realm were deposited in monasteries. They were also commonly the depositories of the muniments and treasure of private families, and of the seals of noblemen after their death. The children of the nobility were educated in monasteries. The poor of the neighbourhood were instructed by them gratis in the Latin grammar and church music. By their extended system of alms they supported the poor without the assistance of any general rate. They repaired highways, as an act of pious bounty to travellers, to the entertainment and lodging of whom their houses were open. Noblemen provided after their death for the support of their aged dependants by *corrodies* attached to donations to monasteries, obliging the latter to provide them with food and cloathing. Thus it will be seen that much good, through the benevolent principles of Christianity, was derived through monasteries to the community at large *.

* See Wharton's *Angl. Sac.* Tanner's *Preface to Notitia Monastica.*

CHARTER OF WILLIAM I. (page 11.)

“Quia inter multa bona opera quæ fideles Christi pro animarum suarum salute operantur, hoc præcipuum estimatur et tenetur, quod institutione et edificatione sanctæ matris ecclesiæ devota mente impenditur; in quâ servorum Dei supplicationibus peccata a pio Deo deluuntur; quod *Moyſes* in mistici tabernaculi constructione præmonstravit, quod etiam Salomonis industria præfiguravit, dum templum domino artificiosum et honorabile edificaret, futuram significans ecclesiam, summo a fidelibus debere honore decorari, quorum, videlicet, exemplo, in nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi, Ego Willelmus Dei dispositione et consanguinitatis hæreditate Anglorum Basileus, Normannorumque Dux, et Rector, cujusdam fidelis mei Ingelrici, scilicet petitione adquisiciens, Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, Abbatum, Comitum, et universorum procerum meorum sacro concilio parens, omnes possessiones terrarum, quas tempore venerabilis ac delectissimi cognati et prædecessoris mei Regis Edwardi, idem Ingelricus acquisierat, pro ipsius insignissimi Regis animæ salute, necnon et peccatorum meorum remissione, concedo, et regiâ auctoritate imperpetuum corroboro et confirmo Deo et ecclesiæ beati Martini, quam infra muros Londoniæ sitam, præfatus Ingelricus et Girardus * frater ejus de propriis suis redditibus in delictorum suorum remedium honorabiliter ad Dei laudem, et canonicalem regulam imperpetuum servandam et tenendam construxerunt.—Sunt igitur hæc terrarum nomina, Ester in Est-sexia, cum Berewica de Maisseberia, et Nortona, et Stanford, et Fobbinge, et Benedist, et Christeshala, et Tolesfunte, et Rowenhala, et Angra, cum appendiciis suis, et cum pratis, pascuis, silvis, molendinis, et omnibus ad eas pertinentibus; et in Benfleota unam hidam, et in Hoddesdona unam hidam, ecclesiam quoque de Mealdona, cum duabus hidis terræ, et decimis, et omnibus ei pertinentibus. Præterea vero ex meâ parte dono et concedo eidem ecclesiæ pro redemptione animarum patris et matris meæ totam terram et moram extra posterulam quæ dicitur Cripelesgate, ex utraque parte posterulæ, viz. ab aquilonari cornu muri civitatis, sicut rivulus fontium ibi prope fluentium, ipsam à muro discriminat, usque in aquam currentem quæ ingreditur civitatem. Concedo etiam ei omnes ecclesias et omnes decimas, terras quoque, et domos, quas fideles Christi infra London vel extra

* *Edwardus* in the Lansdown MS.

jam dedere, vel in futurum donabuntur. Hæc igitur omnia Ecclesia beati Martini et Canonici ejusdem loci inconcussè et liberè imperpetuùm habeant et teneant in commune Ecclesiæ ipsius et Canonicorum utilitate. Ipsi vero Canonici idoneum sibi Procuratorem et Custodem rerum suarum de fratribus suis eligant, qui sua fideliter servet, et cuique partem suam per tempora sine dolo equanimitè distribuant, ut necessaria ad sufficientiam habentes, curis expositi orationis vacent, ac Deo et S. Martino die noctuque secundum regulam suam dignè et laudabiliter serviant. Sint vero ipsa prenominata Ecclesia, et ejusdem Ecclesiæ Canonici, Episcoporum, Archidiaconorum, Decanorum, Ministrorum, &c. suorum universali exactione et inquietudine quieta et omninò sequestrata. Sint verò ipsius Ecclesiæ omnimodæ possessiones ab omni regali servitutis jugo liberæ. Sint omnimodarum Injuriarum impulsione absolutæ. Sint quietæ ab exercitu, expeditione, pontis restauratione, munitionis et castelli auxilio. Habeat etiam socnam et sacnam, tol et theam, et infangenne-theof, blodwyte, mundbrice, burhbrice, meskenninge, sceawinge, bleesting, frithsocne, fleamenafirmth, wergeld-theof, uthleape, forfenge, fyhfeng, fyrdwit, fihwite, wardwite, hengewite, hamsokne, forsteall. Et si quas alias libertates vel consuetudines aliqua ecclesiarum regni mei Angliæ meliores habet. Si quis vero hoc in aliud quam concessimus transferre presumpserit, cum Judâ proditore dei hereticas luat pœnas. Scripta est hæc carta anno ab incarnatione domini M.LXVIII. scilicet secundo anno regni mei. Peracta vero est hæc donatio die natalis Domini et postmodum in die pentecostes confirmata, quando conjux mea Mathilda in basilicâ S. Petri Westmonasterii in Reginam divino nutu est consecrata*." Ego Willelmus Rex Anglorum et Dux Normannorum sub sigillo S. Crucis indeclinabiliter consensi atque roboravi; Ego Mathilda Regina consensum præbui; Ego Ricardus Regis filius annui; Ego Stigandus Archiepiscopus confirmavi; Ego Aldredus Archiepiscopus subscripsi; Ego Willelmus London Episcopus infra cujus muros præfatum monasterium situm est, signaculo sanctæ crucis suberravi, et libertatem omnimodam quantumcunquè meæ pertinet possibilitate concessi; Ego Odo Bajocensis Episcopus consensi; Ego Hugo Luxovensis Episcopus; Ego Goisfridus Episcopus corroboravi; Ego Hermannus Episcopus concessi; Ego Leovricus Episcopus concessi; Ego Giso Episcopus concessi; Ego Eadwinus Abbas;

* Here followed, according to the Lansdown MS. a repetition of the charter in Saxon.

Ego Wolwaldus Abbas; Ego Baldwinus Abbas; Ego Algelsinus Abbas; Ego Turstinus Abbas; Ego Brand Abbas; Ego Alfwinus Abbas; Ego Algelwinus Abbas; Ego Sithricus Abbas; Ego Willelmus filius Osberti Comes; Ego Robertus frater Regis Comes; Ego Eadwinus Comes; Ego Robertus Comes; Ego Marchere Comes; Ego Waldeof Comes; Ego Rogerus de Montgomeri Comes; Ego Ricardus filius Gisleberti Princeps; Ego Willielmus Malet Princeps; Ego Arfastus Regis Cancellarius; Ego Michael Regis Capellanus; Ego Gislebertus Capellanus; Ego Osbernus Capellanus; Ego Willielmus Capellanus; Ego Thomas Capellanus; Ego Bernardus Capellanus; Ego Walterus Capellanus; Ego Rodbertus Capellanus; Ego Johannes Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ Cardinalis Presbyter per Gallias et Angliam, concedente Papa Alexandro, vices Apostolicas gerens, huic constitutione interfui, et quantum Apostolici sedi pertinuit, libertatem Ecclesiæ presenti signo confirmavi; Ego Petrus S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ similiter Cardinalis Presbyter et Cancellarius, ab eodem Papâ in Angliam delegatus huic constitutioni adquiescens propriâ manu subscripsi *."

SAXON TERMS OF PRIVILEGE IN CHARTERS,

pp. 13, 79.

In explanation of the terms of privilege occurring in the charters of St. Martin-le-Grand, the following brief definitions are added :

Soc, from the Saxon *rocne*, signifying a cause, was the liberty of holding a court and exercising jurisdiction over tenants within the demeene or franchise.

Sac, was the right of imposing fines in cases of trespass arising between the tenants, determined in the court of the franchise.

Tol, was an exemption from payment of toll of things bought and sold in all markets.

Team, is the jurisdiction over the whole race of villeins or bondmen of the franchise, with their suits and chattels wherever they might be found in the realm, except any villein should have resided in any corporate town for the space of a

* I have not given the original Latin of the whole of the documents translated in the text. I have thought that it might be more interesting to insert several instruments belonging to the archives of St. Martin's, which have not found a place among the translations in the body of the work.

year and a day, by which residence he was emancipated from his villeinage.

Infangenetheof, was the right of apprehending robbers, taken within the franchise, of convicting and judging them in its court.

Urfangtheof, enabled the lord to call any one, resident within his demesne, who had committed felony out of its limits, to judgment in his court.

Blodwyte, was an exemption from amercement, on account of blood shed within the demesne, as also the power of imposing fines for such an offence within the jurisdiction of its court.

Mundbrice, was the power of taking recognition of the breach of the king's peace.

Burhbrice, was exemption from amercement, imposed on the town in which the franchise was, for a breach of the king's peace.

Meiskeinnige, an exemption from amercement for a complaint prosecuted out of the demesne.

Scawing, is defined to be an exemption from an attachment on account of such complaints.

Hleesting, from the Saxon *hleetan* a burthen, an exemption from the custom of some markets to supply the porters of goods purchased, and exact a charge accordingly.

Frithsocne, liberty of frank pledge, or of taking in its own court the surety of the tenants for the peaceable conduct of each other.

Fleamanafirmth, the power of seizing the goods of a fugitive tenant.

Wergeldtheof, an exemption from the fine for homicide, in case of a thief being slain.

Uthleape, q. d. *outleape*, exemption from amercement for the escape of a felon.

Forfeng, exemption from a right possessed by the king's purveyors of taking provisions from any one in the market, until they were supplied for the king's household.

Fyhfeng, an exemption from contribution towards a military expedition.

Fyrdwite, exemption from summons to attend the same.

Fihtwite, exemption from amercement for an affray within the demesne.

Wardwite, exemption from a contribution towards keeping watch and ward.

Hangwite, has been defined to be the liberty granted of being free from amercement for a felon hanged without

judgment; it may also imply the forfeiture of the goods of a *felo de se* within the demesne.

Hamsocne, is the jurisdiction over the liberty, as much as a man has over his own house.

Forstal, *Geld*, *Dane-geld*, *Hidage*, and *Assize*, implied exemption from assessments for the service of the state levied under these names.

Wastes, *Regards*, and *Assarts*, respectively imply exemption from claims of common, on their demesne lands, from the jurisdiction of the king's regarder, or officer of the forest, over such portions of land as might lie within the forest limits, and from amercement for assarting, that is, *exarating*, grubbing, or ploughing up the same.

Leerwite or *Lecherwite*, is the privilege of fining one who should debauch, or commit adultery with a native villeine without the permission of the lord.

Portage and *Passage*, are exemptions from tolls to havens and ways.

Stallage, from paying for the space occupied by stalls in fairs of markets.

Wapentach and *Hundred-peny*, were exemptions from assessments on those divisions of counties.

Haver-peny, was an exemption from payment towards the carriages of the king.

"There were two kinds of Sanctuary," &c. Page 17.—Since writing the observations on the privileges of Sanctuary, I have found, in the eighth volume of the *Archæologia*, an ingenious paper by the Rev. Samuel Pegge on the same subject.

It is, however, singular that this learned gentleman does not distinctly define the difference between the temporary sanctuary afforded by churches and religious edifices, and those privileged by royal grant and papal confirmation. He merely says that, "though all churches were privileged with Sanctuary, the inferior ones were not often resorted to."

The party flying to Sanctuary at Durham, knocked at the door of the Galilee, where persons were day and night ready to receive fugitives. The galilee bell was then tolled to give notice that some one had taken Sanctuary. His name, residence, rank, and the crime for which he fled to holy ground, were then registered; and he took an oath to observe the regulations of the place, as to wear no pointed weapon, to be ready to ring the bells of the church on certain occasions, &c. &c.

In the Harleian MSS. No. 4292, is a register of persons who had taken Sanctuary for different crimes at the monastery of St. John, Beverley, during the latter end of the fifteenth

century, amounting to at least five hundred, chiefly for homicide and debt.

The following form of registering a fugitive is taken from the above:

Rob'tus Alestre de Notyngham, in Com. ville de Notyngham, gentilman, t'cio die Maii anno Edw. IV. post conquestu' Anglie xviii. venit ad pacem sc'i Joh'is Beverlaci p' morte John' Hill, nuper de villâ Westm. in Com. Midd. yoman, p' ipsum interfectum apud Notyngham predictum xvi die Aprilis, anno r. sup'd'i sup'd'cto; et accepto sacramento secundum consuetud. idem Rob'tus Alestre admissus est et receptus ad pacem p'd'ctam, &c. Regist. Bev. fol. 18.

A person taking Sanctuary in the church at Maldon, and abjuring, is thus noticed in the Pleas of the Crown.

Radulfus atte Cope et Galfridus le Harde, generationis magistri Ad. de Ffileby, insultaverunt Edwardum Trilly, in villâ de Meaudon, ita quod prædictus Radu's atte Cope et Galfridus occiderunt predictum Edwardum, et prædictus Galfridus statim posuit se in ecclesiam Meaudon, et cognovit prædictum factum, et abjuravit regnum coram coronatore.—Plac. Coron. Edw. II. Lansd. MS. 170. fol. 111.

Dr. Smollett, in his Travels, notices the existence of "the infamous prerogative" of Sanctuary in the Italian states, and says, "he saw a fellow, who three days before had murdered his wife in the last month of pregnancy, taking the air with great composure and serenity, on the steps of a church at Florence, and that nothing is more common than to see the most execrable villains diverting themselves in the cloisters of some convents at Rome."—Smollett's Travels, p. 279.

CHARTER OF EUSTACE EARL OF BOULOGNE. (page 34.)

Eustachius Comes Bolonie Hugoni Episcopo London, omnibusque ecclesiæ sanctæ fidelibus, salutem. Quoniam ex evangelio audivimus 'qui recipit prophetam in nomine prophetæ mercedem propheti accipiet, similiter et qui justum in nomine justī mercedem justī recipiet;' ego igitur, quorundam sapientium et justorum virorum consilio et penitentiā ductus, ecclesiæ sancti Martini et Canonicis, et pro possessionibus suis a me sibi elatis, satisfacere disposui: et licet secundum donationem regis Willelmi tenuras omnes que fuerunt Ingelrici, quas cum eadem ecclesiā suscepī tanquam proprias retinere possem: salute meæ animæ et conjugis meæ L., et filiorum meorum Eustachii et G., et aliorum consulens ac animarum requiem providens, has subscriptas terras ecclesiæ et canonicis beati Martini omninō liberās et quietas tenendas, donare ac reddere disposui, terram de Maldona, et

ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ, cum omnibus ei pertinentibus, et Estram, atque Tolleshuntam, ac Beneflet, et Hoddesdonam, atque pauciores terras, scilicet, illas quæ propriæ fuerunt Ingelrici, et ad decanatum pertinere debeant mihi retinui. Volo et concedo quod ecclesia et canonici teneant supradictas terras ita liberè et omnimodò quietas, sicut Ingelricus unâ die et unâ nocte quietiùs illas tenuit, et sicut ego ipse post eum illas habebam in dominio meo, et sicut etiam terram de propriâ mensâ meâ. Si quis filiorum meorum aut parentum instructi diabolo aliquid voluerit demere, aut libertates ecclesiæ infringere, seu minuere, sit a consortio Dei et beati Martini et nostrâ amicitia segregatus. Testes autem de hoc sunt multi, Arnulphus Dapifer, Hubertus Calvus, et multi alii de ejus familiâ.

LETTERS OF KING STEPHEN, (page 44. *)

Stephanus, Dei gratiâ Rex Angliæ, Andr. Burgh, et vic', et omnibus suis, London, salutem. Precipio quod Rogerus Episcopus Sarum teneat ecclesiam Sancti Martini, London, et omnes terras eidem pertinentes in civitate et extra, ita benè et honorificè, sicut meliùs tenuit tempore Regis Henrici, et modò postea. Et de quocunque disseisitus est ipse vel ecclesia sua et Canonici sui ejusdem ecclesiæ postquam discordia incepta inter nos, reseisiantur, et nominatim de terrâ Aldersgate disseisiti sunt, ipse et Canonici sui pro filiis Huberti juvenis, et benè et in pace teneant, sicut tenuerunt meliùs die quâ Rex Henricus fuit vivus et mortuus, et modò postea. Teste, &c.

LETTERS OF MATILDA THE EMPRESS. (p. 51.)

Imperatrix Henrici regis filia et Angliæ Domina, Oob. Octodenar† et vic. et civibus, London, salutem. Precipio quod sasiatis Henricum Episcopum Winton, et apostolicæ sedis legatum, de domibus illis London, et terras ubi Petrus mansit (quæ pertinent ad decanatum Sancti Martini, London, et ecclesiam suam, et ipsi disseisiati sunt), sicut Rogerus Episcopus Sar. decanus ejusdem ecclesiæ, et Fulcherus saisiti fuerunt, die quâ fuerunt vivi et mortui, et domes suas, et omnia quæ inde post mortem episcopi Rogeri ablata sunt, facite illi reddi, et terram ipsam, et cetera omnia perti-

* Other letters of this King, in favour of our church, have this form: "Omnibus Baronibus suis de London, de Essex, et de Hertford, et ministris, et fidelibus suis omnibus tam clericis quam laicis, Francis et Anglis, salutem, &c."

† Thus in the MS. I do not understand this word, if it be not a proper name.

mentia ecclesiæ Sancti Martini, in pace illi tenere facite. Teste, &c.

LETTERS OF MATILDA THE QUEEN OF STEPHEN. (p. 52.)

Mauldis Angliæ Regina, Huberto Camerario et Alivo clerico,* et ministris suis de Christehale, salutem. Precipio quod Canonici de Sancto Martino, London, teneant terram et homines suos, et res pertinentes ecclesiæ, et in pace et honorificè, et habeant omnes consuetudines et rectitudines suas pertinentes libertati ecclesiæ in viis et exitibus et decimis et nemore et plano, sicut Ricardus de Bolon vel aliquis sacerdos meliùs habuit tempore patris mei, vel postea meliùs, et ita ne super hoc aliquam faciatis eis vel hominibus eorum injuriam vel contumeliam, quia volo quòd honorabiliter teneant. Teste, &c.

CHARTER OF EUSTACE SON OF KING STEPHEN. (p. 53.)

Eustachius filius Regis et Comes Bolonie omnibus Baronibus et Vavasoribus et tenentibus suis de Essex, salutem. Sciatis quod concedo et confirmo ecclesiæ Sancti Martini, London, et Canonici, terram de Massibi, illam dimidiam hidam quam Gist tenet, quam Ric'us filius Huberti, armigeri, dedit patri meo Regi Stephano solutam et quietam, sicut rectum ecclesiæ prenominatæ. Et volo et precipio quod ecclesia Sancti Martini et Canonici illam in pace et honorificè teneant, solutam et quietam cum socà, et sacà, et toll, et theam, et infangenetheof, et omnibus liberis consuetudinibus, cum quibus Barones et Vavasores mei meliùs et liberiùs teneant: sicut pater meus Rex Stephanus, et mater mea Matildis Regina, dedit ecclesiæ per manum Henrici Winton episcopi, avunculi mei, et Decani ipsius ecclesiæ Sancti Martini, et hoc per servitium quarti partis vinculi militis, sicut cartæ Regis et Reginæ testantur.

LETTERS OF HENRY DE BLOIS BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.
(page 56.)

Henricus Dei gratiâ Winton Episcopus, Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, Roberto de Novo Borgo, et ministris Comitum Theobaldi, salutem. Sciatis quod ecclesia Sancti Martini, London, et omnes res ei pertinentes mei sunt; quare vobis mando quòd resaisiri faciatis Canonicos ejusdem loci, et ecclesiam de Meldon, de terris et domibus suis de burgagis com. de

* *Clericus* here, I conceive, implies the priest of the church. On referring to the Lansdowne MS. No. 170, fol. 64, I find the preceding word is not *aliiis*, as translated in the text, but apparently a proper name, perhaps carelessly transcribed, as many parts of the above-mentioned MS. are.

Meldon, unde Walter' de Prinno eos dissaisivit pro filiis et filiabus Wallace, sacerdotis vicarii sui; sic ipsi saisiti fuerunt tempore Regis Henrici, et tempore episcopi Sar. et die quâ Meldona donata fuit comiti, et quodcunque in predictâ captum est reddetur, et in pace teneant, reddendo consuetudines comiti, quas reddere solebant tempore Regis Henrici in burgagio. Teste, &c.

LETTERS OF KING STEPHEN TO GEOFFREY DE MAGNAVILLE,
EARL OF ESSEX.

Stephanus Rex Angliæ Gaufrido de Magnavillâ, salutem. Precipio quodd sine dilatione facias resaisiri ecclesiam et canonicos Sancti Martini, London, de terris et omnibus tenatur' suis de Meldonâ, unde Walterus de Prinno, minister Comitum Theobaldi, eos dissaisivit, ita plenariè et bene eos facias resaisiri, sicut inde saisiti fuerint ipsi et ecclesia sua die quâ dedi manerium illud Comiti Theobaldo, et die quâ Henricus fuit vivus et mortuus, et bene et in pace et liberè teneant, sicut melius tenuerunt tempore Henrici, ne super hoc sustineas quod aliqua eis inde injuria vel contumelia fiat. T. P. Cant. apud Andev'am.

CHARTER OF GEOFFREY DE MAGNAVILLE, EARL OF ESSEX.
(page 58.)

Galfridus Dei gratiâ Comes Essex, et Justiciarius London, Robert. eadem gratiâ London Episcopo, et Arch'o, et omnibus Baronibus et hominibus suis, et omnibus tenentibus et amicis suis, London et Essex, tam clericis quam laicis, salutem: Quàm super modum peccavi, et malè vivendo, et bona ecclesiastica præter rationem diripiendo, Deum offendi; ex penitentiâ meâ inmerita dampna ecclesiæ Sancti Martini, London, quodammodo restituere, et voluntati canonicorum satisfacere, proposui. Itaque secundùm petitionem illorum concedo, et imperpetuùm confirmo ecclesiæ Sancti Martini, London, ecclesiam Sancti Mariæ de Newport, quam possidet ex multo tempore de donatione venerabilis memoriæ Regis Henrici, cum terris et decimis ei pertinentibus, secundùm cartam ipsius, et pro animâ ipsius regis Henrici, et animabus patris et matris meæ; necnon et pro salute et incolumitate meâ et Rohaisæ uxoris meæ, et liberorum meorum. Concedo et volo quodammodò habeant canonici et ecclesiam suam de Newport plenariè, decimas de dominio meo, et de dominiciis carrucis meis de Newport, et de omnibus hominibus ejusdem villæ in blado et pecoribus, et omnibus rebus de quibus decima dari solet, et rationabiliter donari debet, et præter hoc dono illis duas acras de dessartis ejusdem villæ, quas ipsa ecclesia antè tenuerat in elemosinam. Et volo et concedo quodd canonici

rehabeant illas terras suas de Meldonâ, et de Godichestrâ, et Mealdon, et Benefleote, Norton, et Toleshuntâ quæ injustè illis ablatae sunt, quietas de operationibus et auxiliis vic. et plac. sicut meliùs et liberiùs et quietiùs tenuerunt tempore Regis Henrici, et postea meliùs. Testibus, Rohaisâ comitissâ uxore meâ, et Willi'mo Archd'o London, et Waltero fratre ipsius, Gregor. clerico, et Osb. clerico, Willi'm. Archid'o, et Willi'mo de Moching, et Ricardo filio Osb. Constab. et Giet vic., et Ailwin filio Lopstan, et Roberto de Ponte, et Moric' de Tirtet, apud London in Turri, coram Monach. Westm.

LETTERS OF THOMAS A BECKET ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AND LEGATE OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE. (page 68.)

Thomas Dei gratiâ Cantuarensis Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primatus, et Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, toti capitulo Sancti Martini, London, salutem. Accepimus mandatum domini Papæ de conservandis omnibus et protegendis quæ ad jus Wint. ecclesiæ, et venerabilis fratris nostri domini Wynt. jure aliquo competere dinoscuntur. Vobis itaque mandamus et auctoritate præsentium precipimus continuò præfato episcopo, tanquam decano vestro obediatis, et ei cui vicem suam in illâ ecclesiâ co'miserit ne quodd in lesionem potestatis episcopi presumatis. Vale.

BULL OF ALEXANDER III. (page 71.)

Alexander Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis Galfrido Decano Sancti Martini, London, et fratribus ejus tam presentibus quàm futuris canonicè instituendis imperpetuū. Effectum jura postulantibus indulgere, ut vigor equitatis et ordo exigit rationis, præsertim quando penitentium voluntati, et pietas adjuvat, et veritas non relinquitur, quocirca dilecti in domino filii nostris justis postulationibus clementer annuimus, et præfatam ecclesiam in quâ divino mancipati estis obsequio, sub beati Petri et nostrâ protectione suscepimus, et presentis scripti privilegio communivimus, statuentes ut quascunque possessiones, quæcunque bona, eadem ecclesia in præsens justè et canonicè possidet, aut in futuram concessionem pontificum, largitione regum vel principum, oblatione fidelium, aliis justis modis, præstante domino, poterit adipisci, firma vobis vestrisque successoribus illabata, permaneant. In quibus hæc propriis duximus exprimenda vocabulis: ecclesiam de Newport cum omnibus pertinentibus suis, villamque de Godichester cum omnibus pertinentibus suis; nihilominus omnes ecclesias alias et capellas, exemptas possessiones quas rationabiliter possidetis, vobis et ecclesiæ vestræ auctoritate apostolicâ annuimus et confirmamus, præterea libertates

et immunitates; nec non antiquas et rationabiles consuetudines ipsius ecclesiæ ratas habemus et firmas, easque perpetuis temporibus illibatas manere sancimus. Nihilominus etiam auctoritate apostolicâ prohibemus, ne cui liceat ecclesiam vestram in capite vel in membris aut servitores ejusdem ecclesiæ vel capellarum ejus indebitis molestiis aut gravaminibus fatigare, aut eis novas indebitas exactiones imponere. Sepulturam quoque ipsius loci liberam esse decrevimus, et eorum devotioni et extremæ voluntati qui se illic sepeliri delibaverint, nisi forte excommunicati vel interdicti sint, nullus oboistat, salvatâ justitiâ illarum ecclesiarum a quibus mortuorum corpora assumuntur. Cùm autem interdictum generale terræ fuerit, liceat vobis, clausis januis, exclusis excommunicatis et interdictis, non pulsatis campanis, suppressâ voce divina officia celebrare. Decrevimus quoque ut nulli omnino homini liceat præfatam ecclesiam temerè perturbare, aut ejus possessiones auferre, vel ablatis retinere, minuere, sed quibuslibet vexationibus fatigare, sed illibata omnia et integra conserventur eorum, pro quorum gubernatione et sustentatione concessa sint, usis omnimodis profutura, salvâ sedis apostolicæ auctoritate.

Si qua igitur in futurum ecclesiastica secularisve persona hanc nostram constitutionis paginam sciens, contra eam temerè venire attemptaverit, secundo tertiove commonita, nisi presumptionem suam dignâ satisfactione correxerit, potestatis honorisque suæ dignitate caveat, iramque se Domini judicio existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat, et à sanctissimo corpore et sanguine Dei et Domini redemptoris nostri Jesu Christi aliena fiat, atque in extremo examine districto ultioni subiaceat. Tutis autem eidem loco sua jura servantibus, sit pax Domini mei Jesu Christi quatenus, et hinc fructum bonæ actionis percipiant, et apud districtum judicem eternæ pacis premium inveniant. Amen. Ego Alexander Apostolicæ ecclesiæ episcopus, &c.

THE CONVENT OF THE CHURCH OF ST. MARTIN TO THE
GUILD OF SADLERS, &c. (page 76.)

This document appears to have been cited as a proof that the church of St. Martin was founded and endowed before the conquest, contrary to the assertions of John Carpenter and his adherents, see p. 123. I suppose the Alderman Arnald mentioned in it, lived anterior to the Norman Conquest. Maitland cursorily notices the subject of these letters, and refers them to the time of Richard I. *

* Hist. London. vol. ii. p. 1250.

Conventus ecclesiæ Sancti Martini, London, Aldermanno, Capellano, et quatuor Schi' et omnibus Geldæ Sellariorum amicis, et confratribus suis, salutes, et orationes in Christo. Notum sit vobis tam presentibus quàm futuris, hoc est antiquitùs statutum inter nostram ecclesiam et vestram congregationem, scilicet vos esse fratres et participes omnium beneficiorum quæ fuerint in eccl'ia Sancti Martini, nocte et die, in missis et psalmis et orationibus et vigiliis, et præter hæc sciatis concessas esse vobis nominatim unâquaque ebdomedâ duas missas; videlicet, una pro vivis, et alter pro defunctis fratribus vestræ congregationis, et sciatis concessam esse vobis servationem campanarum nostræ ecclesiæ, et processionem et cœmeterium liberè et honorificè. Et sciatis canonicos pro tempore esse paratos auxiliis et consiliis vestræ domo, tanquam fratres et vestros coadjutores; vos autem, sicut antè statutum fuit, et modo in capitulo nostro recordatum est, ad festum Sancti Martini, de vestrà presenciâ, et de vestrà elemosinâ cum cereo inde facto, ecclesiam Sancti Martini visitabitis, de *saule soch* vestro, et de demissis et aliis beneficiis vestris, ecclesiam Sancti Martini in multis indigentem, sic apparet, et vos videatis rememorare si vobis placuerit, vos precamur. Antiquitùs autem consuetudo fuit et modo recordatum est, in capitulo nostro tempore domini Arnaldi vestri Aldermanni, quod de unâquaque fratris defuncti receptione et campanarum pulsatione ecclesia Sancti Martini octo denariorum habeat. Vale.

HENRY THE THIRD'S CHARTER. (cited page 87.)

Henricus Dei gratiâ Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, et Dux Normann' et Aquit. et comes Andeg. Archiep'is, Ep'is Abbatib', Priorib', Comitib', Baronib', Justic', Vicecomitib', Præpositis, Ministris, et omnib' ballivis, et fidelib' suis, salutem. Noveritis nos intuitu Dei, et pro salute animæ nostræ, et animarum antecessorum et heredum nostrorum, dedisse, concessisse, et hac cartâ meâ confirmasse, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, Deo et Ecclesiæ Sancti Martini, London, et dilecto clerico nostro Waltero de Kyrkeham, Decano ejusdem ecclesiæ, quodd. idem Decanus, et successores sui Decani ejusdem loci, habeant imperpetuûm cum donatione prebendarum et ecclesiarum, et cum liberâ administratione omnium rerum ad eandem ecclesiam Sancti Martini pertinentium, omnes libertates et quietancias subscriptas; videlicet, soc et sac, toll et theam, et infangenethefey, cum aliis libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus et quietanciis suis in bosco, in plano, in viis, in semitibus, in pratis, pascuis et pasturis, in aquis et molenis, in vivariis, in grangiis et virgultis, infra burgum et extra, infra civitatem et extra, infra villam et extra, in omni-

bus aliis locis et rebus ad ipsum decanatum et ad memoratam ecclesiam Sancti Martini pertinentibus. Et quod omnes terræ et omnia dominica ten. et omnes homines predictæ ecclesiæ Sancti Martini sint quieti de schiris, hundredis, et de sectis schirarum et hundredorum et wapentachorum, et de pecuniâ dandâ pro forisfacto, et de murthero et latrocinio, geldis, denegeldis, hidagiis, assisiis, et de operationibus castellorum et murorum, fossarum, parcorum, pontium, calcearum, et de guastis,* regardis, et de assartis, et placitis forestæ, et de forwyte, et de hengwyte, et de flemenfrethe, et de hamsoca, et de blodwyta, et de fightwyta, et de leirwyta, et de hundredepeny, et de wardepeny, et de haverpeny, et de vigiliis faciendis, et de pontagio, passagio, lestagio, tollagio et stallagio, telonio, scutagio, et de omni seculari exactione et servicio et opere servili, et de omnibus placitis, et querelis, et actionibus, et consuetudinibus secularibus. Quare volumus et firmiter precepimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod predictus Decanus et successores sui Decani ejusdem ecclesiæ habeant de cetero imperpetuûm, cum donatione prebendarum et ecclesiarum, et cum liberâ administratione omnium rerum ad eandem ecclesiam Sancti Martini pertinentium, omnes libertates et quietancias predictas, sicut predictum est. *Hic testibus, I. Bathon, R. Dunolm, W. Carleol, Epi's; H. De Burgo, Comit. Cant., Justiciar. Anglie; Petro De Albynaco, Hug. De Staunford, Rad'o. fil. Nichi., Joh'ne filio Phi', et aliis, Dat. p' manum venerabilis patris Cicesterncis epi', cancellarii n'ri, apud Westm. iiii°. die Februar. anno regni n'ri q'nto decimo.†*

WILLIAM DE KETENC, CANON OF ST. MARTIN'S, GIVES A CROFT AND MESSAGE TO HIS CHURCH.

Sciant presentes et futuri quòd ego Willi'mus de Ketenc, Canonicus ecclesiæ Sancti Martini Magni, London, dedi, concessi, foris-affidavi, quietum-clamavi, et hâc predictâ cartâ meâ confirmavi, Deo et dictæ ecclesiæ meæ Sancti Martini, pro salute animæ meæ, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, totam illam croftam terræ, cum messuagio et omnibus aliis pertinentibus, quæ jacet juxta cimiterium ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ de Meldon in eadem parochiâ, et est de tenurâ dictæ ecclesiæ Sancti Martini, quæ quidem crofta fuit quondam Ricardi filii Thomæ de Witham Capellani: Habendis et tenendis dictis Deo et ecclesiæ Sancti Martini in puram quietam et perpetuam elemosinam; salvis sex denariis annuis qui debentur Sawallo de la Moor, et heredibus suis, ad anni terminos; scilicet, ad festum Sancti Michaelis tres denarios et ad Paschum tres denarios pro omni servicio, consuetudi-

* Wastes; † Bibl. Cotton. Claud. D. 2. fol. 130.

nibus, sectâ curiæ, et seculari exactione. Ut autem hæc mea donatio, concessio, forisfidatio, quiet'clamatio, presens carta mea rata sit et stabilis imperpetuûm, presenti scripto sigilli impressionem apposui. Hiis testibus, Will'mo le Panner, Galfr'o filio ejusdem, &c. Ego vero Sawallus predictus de la Moor pro me et heredibus meis dictam donationem ratam habeo, et tam sigilli mei impressione unâ cum sigillo dicti domini Will'i confirmo; testibus supradictis.

LETTERS OF EDWARD I. TO THE SHERIFFS OF LONDON, CONCERNING WILLIAM DE MEDHURST PRIEST OF ST. BOTOLPH.

See others translated from the Latin, p. 92.

Le Roy au vic. de Londres saluz; nous vous commandons que des briefe que vous avez reçus sous notre grand seal, à la signification de notre cher clere Will. de Meldon Dean de Sent Martin-le-grand, de London, touchantz Richard de Midhurst, Vicaire de l'esglise de Sent Botolph hors de Aldersgate de London, faites hastive et due execuçon, selone le purport de mesmes les briefe issint que nous ne oions, mës plaint par votre defalt. Don. a Westm. le sesisme jour de Mars l'an de notre regne septisme.

EDWARD THE FIRST commands his JUSTICES to deliver the GAOL of the CANONS of ST. MARTINS, in their Manor of Good Easter, Essex.

Edwardus Dei gratiâ, &c. dilectis et fidelibus nostris Willim. Hemyngfeld, Jollano de Dunolm, Johanni Burnedich, salutem. Sciatis constituimus vos vel duos vestrum, quorum vos præfat' Willim' unum esse volumus, esse justic. nostros ad gaolam n'ram de Godichestre deliberandum. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ad certam diem, quam vos vel duos vestrum, &c. ad hoc provediritis, conveniatis apud Godinchester ad gaolam illam deliberandum, facturi inde quod ad justitiam pertinet, secundum legem et consuetudines regni nostri, salvis nostris amerciamentis, et aliis ad nos inde spectantibus. Mandamus vic. Essex quod ad rectum diem, quem vos vel duo vestrum, &c. ei scire faciatis, omnes prisonas ejusdem gaolæ, et eorum attachiamenta coram vobis vel duobus vestrum quorum vos, &c. ibidem venire faciatis. In cujus rei testimonium has literas fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Berewic super Twedam xii^o die Julii, anno regni nostri 8^o.

EXCOMMUNICATIO. (page 93.)

Auctoritate Dei Omnipotentis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Dei genitoris Mariæ, et omn' celest' spirit', beati Petri

Apostolorum Principis, cui Dominus dedit potestatem ligandi atque solvendi, ceterorum Apostolorum et omnium sanctorum Dei ac Sancti Martini, in cuius honore presens fundata ecclesia, quorum sanctorum plurium hinc reliquias venerantur, et Sanctorum Canonum atque nostri, excommunicamus, anathematizamus, et maledicimus, atque a luminibus Sanctæ Matris ecclesiæ, et totius Christianitatis, et consortio omnium Christi fidelium, expellemus et sequestramus A. B. et omnes sibi consentientes, quorum nefandam rabiem et violentiam ecclesiæ Dei et nobis inflectam sæpius et inextingui recepimus. Maledicti sint in villâ et in agro ingredienti et egredientes, maledicti in domibus edentes et bibentes, dormientes et vigilantes, maledicti in terrâ et in aquâ, maledicti sedendo, stando, quiescendo, et laborando, maledicti sint in omni loco, in omnibus operibus eorum, exterioribus membris et intestinis a plantâ pedis usque ad verticem capitis; non sit in eis sanitas, fit via eorum tenebra et lubrica, et filii eorum orphani, et uxores eorum viduæ, angelus Domini cohortans eos; sitque sors et pars eorum in Dathan et Abiron * qui maledicti in infernum descenderunt viventes, et cum Judâ traditore Dei, et cum hiis qui dixerunt Domino "Recede a nobis, scientiam viarum tuarum nolumus;" sintque corpora eorum ut Rex Oziah et Maria soror Moisi lepra; sint etiam Sancti Antonii propter eorum demerita percussi, ac propter eorum multiplicia facinora et cor impenitens celesti combusti iudicio; sicut extinguuntur istæ candelæ, ita extinguuntur eorum animæ. Adjutorio et demonum, quibus hinc serviebant, in inferno consortio deputentur eternò, nisi ad condignam emendationem injuriarum et violentiarum ecclesiæ nostræ, et nobis illatarum, admoveantur. Fiat, Fiat, Amen.

WILLIAM DE MARCHIA. (page 100.)

Under the name of this Dean, it might have been mentioned that he was Treasurer to King Edward the First. Finding the royal Treasury exhausted by continual wars, William de Marchia contrived, by means of certain military leaders posted throughout the kingdom, to seize on the treasure deposited in all monasteries and churches in the realm, a measure at which the people greatly murmured, esteeming it highly sacrilegious to seize on the money which was intended for the repair of sacred edifices; but the King gave the matter his tacit approbation, by passing it over unnoticed.—Polyd. Virg. lib. 17. p. 332.

* Numbers, chap. xvi.

LETTERS OF EDWARD THE FIRST.

Edwardus Dei gratiâ Rex Angliæ Decano et Capitulo liberæ Capellæ suæ Sancti Martini, London, salutem. Ne coronæ et dignitatis nostræ regia jura depereant, studiosam nos decet operam adhibere, et ad ea manutenenda et conservanda eò potius debemus esse solliciti, quò ad hoc vinculo juramenti teneri dignoscimur et astringi. Cum itaque Decanus ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli London, et magister Bartholomeus de Ffentino Canonicus ejusdem, executores super quodam negotio provisorio de quâdam prebendâ in liberâ capellâ nostrâ predictâ cuidam Henr. nato Branche de Sarracenis, de urbe assignandâ, auctoritate apostolicâ ut dicitur deputati, executionem negotiî predicti jam vobis intendant, ut accepimus, demandare, per vos ulterius faciendam, quod quidem negotium si precederet, in nostrum prejudicium cederet manifestum, et dictæ nostræ coronæ et dignitatis nostræ regiæ lesione, vobis inhibimus firmiter injungendo, ne nobis inconsultis ad executionem aliquam in hâc parte faciendam precedatis, seu precedere presumatis per quod nobis regno nostro et liberæ capellæ nostræ prejudicium aliquid valeat generari in futurum. Et si forsitan ad receptionem alicujus, auctoritate predictâ mandati processeritis inconsultè, processum hujusmodi penitus revocetis, et faciatis in quantum in vobis, et ab aliis revocari, taliter super hiis vos habentes, ne ad vos tanquam ad juris nostri et coronæ nostræ violatores graviter capere debeamur. Teste meipso apud Beverlacum 18 Oct. Anno Regni nostri xxxiiij.*

BULL OF CLEMENT V.

Clemens Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei carissimo in Christo filio Edwardo Regi Angliæ illustri, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Regalis devotionis sinceritas quæ ad nos et Romanam habes ecclesiam promeretur ut personam tuam dignis honoremus favoribus, et apostolicis gratiis muniamus. Tuis itaque supplicationibus inclinati, auctoritate presentium indulgemus ut nullus a sede apostolicâ delegatus, executor vel etiam conservator a sede deputatus eâdem, aut subdelegatus aliquo eorundum possit in personâ et capellas tuas excommunicationis suspensionis vel interdictionis sententiam promulgare, absque ipsius sedis mandato et licentiâ faciente plenam et expressam, ac de verbo ad verbum de in-

* A. D. 1303. The King was at Beverley in Yorkshire, most probably on his way to enter Scotland at the head of his army.

dulto hujus mentionem. Nos enim excommunicationem irritam decernimus et inanem si secus super hiis contigerit attemptari. Nulli ergo omnino homini liceat, &c. &c. Dat. Lugdun. Kalend. Januarii, pontificat. nost. anno primo. *

BULL OF CLEMENT V.

Clemens Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, clarissimo in Christo filio Regi Angliæ illustri, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ex parte tuâ fuit propositum nobis quod claræ memoriæ Reges Angliæ progenitores tui in regno Angliæ antequam ibidem ordinarentur Episcopi, quamplures fundaverunt ecclesias et regiâ libertate de bonis propriis dotaverunt, quâ ab ipsâ fundatione et jurisdictione Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, et quorumlibet aliorum fuerunt prorsus liberæ et immunes, et ad usque moderna tempora gavisæ sunt plenariâ libertate. Dum autem insurgente in eodem regno turbationis procellâ, Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, in quorum diocesibus consistunt ecclesiæ prædictæ quæ capellæ regiæ vulgariter appellantur. ordinarii eorundem diocesum in ecclesiis prædictis sibi jurisdictionem indebitam usurpantes, in earum aliquibus visitationis officium impenderunt, exercendo censuram ecclesiasticam in eisdem, clericis ipsis propter turbationem hujusmodi non audentibus resistere Archiepiscopis et aliis supradictis. Quia vero ex hoc tibi qui patronus ecclesiarum ipsarum existis, ac eisdem ecclesiis posset præjudicium generari, nos volentes tam juri tuo quàm indemnitati ecclesiarum et clericorum prædictorum in hac parte paternâ diligentia providere, ut premissis veris existentibus, per hujusmodi Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum et aliorum ordinariorum prædictorum, usurpationem predictam, nullum tibi aut ecclesiis vel clericis vel membris præjudicium generetur, auctoritate presentium indulgemus. Nulli ergo omnino homini liceat hanc paginam nostræ concessionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beati Petri et Pauli apostolorum se noverit incursurum. Datum Viterbi, x Kalend. Julii Pontificatus nostri, anno secundo. †

BULL OF JOHN XX.

Johannes Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimo in Christo filio Edwardo Regi Angliæ illustri, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Tanto benignius celsitudinis tuæ precibus benignum impertimus assensum quantum inter Reges et principes Christianos te specialiter in domino reputamus,

* A. D. 1306.

† A. D. 1307.

dilectum filium et itaque supplicationibus, districtius inhibemus ne ullus ordinarius aut etiam delegatus aut subdelegatus in capellas regias et oratoria eorundem ecclesiæ Romanæ immediatè subjectæ, seu canonicos vel servitores ipsorum, contra tenorem privilegiorum ac indulgentiarum apostolicæ sedis, excommunicationis vel interdicti sententiam audeat promulgare, seu aliquid ipsis imponere quod aliis exemptis ecclesiis non consueverit imponi, absque mandato sedis apostolicæ speciali, quod expressam facit de inhibitione hujusmodi mentionem. Nulli ergo omnino homini liceat hanc paginam nostram inhibitionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum. Dat. Avinion, K'l'n. April. pontificatus nostri, anno primo. *

STATUTE OF THE 2D OF EDWARD III. CAP. 3.

Concerning Debtors entering Sanctuaries.

A similar one cited as of the 3d Richard II. page 125.

Auxi [aussi] pour que diverses gens, enheritees de diverses tenementes en Angleterre, creancent diverses biens en money, ou en marchandises, des plusors gens du dit roialme, puis donnent leurs biens et chateux, terres et tenementes, a leurs amis par collusion, devorent les pruffetz à la voluntèe, et puis s'enfuient à l'afranchise de Westmonstre et de St. Martin-le-grand de London, ou ois autres tiels places privilegiés, et illvecqs vivent longtemps de grand contynuance d'autres biens et des pruffitz des ditz tenementes, chateux, tanque les dits creditours seront m. . . de prendre un petit parcelle de leur dette, et de relessier le remenant. Ordigné est et assensuz que s'il pourra être trouvé que tieux dons soient issunt faitz par collusion que les dits creditours aient issent execuçon des dits tenementes et chateux auxi [aussi] avant comme si nul tiel done eust été fait.

BRIEF OF RICHARD II. TO THE SHERIFF OF ESSEX,

Commanding him to take surety of John Andrew the Priest of the Church of Toleshunt, in Essex, an appendage to St. Martin's, that he should not go out of the kingdom, probably to prosecute some matter with the Pope to the prejudice of the free chapel of St. Martin. A similar interdict is addressed to the Abbot of St. John's Colchester in the same year.

Ricardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, &c. vic. Essex, salutem.

Quia datum est nobis intelligi quod Johannes Andrew, persona ecclesiæ de Toleshunt versus partes externas ad quamplura nobis, et quampluribus de populo nostro præjudicialia, persequendo transire proposuit. Nos malitiæ sue resistere volentes in hac parte tibi precipimus, firmiter injungentes, quod absque dilationis diffugio prefatum Johannem coram te corporaliter venire fac, et ipsum ad sufficientes manucaptos inveniendum, qui eum manucapere voluerint sub certâ penâ sibi per te rationabiliter imponenda per quâ respondere voluerit, quod ipse versus aliquas partes externas sine licentiâ nostrâ speciali se non divertet, nec quicquam ibidem persequetur vel attemptari facere presumet, quod nostri contemptum vel præjudicium aut populi nostri damnum cedere valeat, nec aliquam vel aliquos ibidem ex hac causâ quovismodo compellet. Et si hoc coram te facere recusaret, tunc ipsum Johannem prædictum prisonæ nostræ committas in eadem, salvus custodiendus quousque hoc gratis facere voluerit. Et cum firmitatem prædictam sic coeperis, nos inde in cancellariâ nostrâ sub sigillo tuo districtè et aptè sine dilatione reddas certiores hoc brevium nobis remittes. Teste meipso apud Westm. xvij die Junii, anno regni n'ri ix°.

RICHARD II. commands the **SHERIFFS OF LONDON** to attach **JOHN HEMYNGBURGH**, for unduly citing divers persons of the franchise of St. Martin's to appear in the Ecclesiastical Court.

Ricardus Dei gratiâ Rex Angliæ, &c. vic. London, salutem. Precipimus quod attachiatis Johannem Hemyngburgh, ita quod habeatis coram nobis a die Sancti Martini in quindecim dies, ubicunque tunc fuerimus in Angliâ ad respondendum nobis quare, cum capella Sancti Martini Magni London, libera nostra capella, sit ab omni jurisdictione ordinariâ exempta, penitus et immunitis, præterquam a jurisdictione cancellarii nostri pro tempore existentis, prædictus Johannes diversas personas infra libertatem capellæ prædictæ ad comparandum coram iudice curiæ Christianitatis citavit, et alia quamplura in lesione libertatis exemptionis et immunitatis ejusdem fecit et fieri procuravit, in nostri contemptu et exhæredatione coronæ et regiæ dignitatis manifestè, ut dicitur. Et habeatis ibi hoc brevium. Teste meipso apud Westm. iii. die Novembr. anno regni n'ri decimo.

HENRY VI. TO **MATTHEW PHILIPP ALDERMAN OF LONDON.**
(cited page 115.)

Henricus Dei gratiâ Rex Angliæ et Franciæ et Dominus Hiberniæ Mattheo Phillipp, unum Aldermannorum Civitatis

nostræ London, salutem. Monstraverunt nobis dilecti nobis in Christo Decanus et Capitulum liberæ capellæ nostræ Sancti Martini Magni, London, quoddam, licet eorum processores et predecessores vigore atque pretexto immunitatum, privilegiorum, libertatum, et franchiesiarum eis ab inclitæ recordationis progenitoribus nostris concessis, quibus a tempore et per tempora cujus contraria memoriâ hominis non existit, usi sunt et gavisî pacificè et quietè, præfatam capellam et totum præcinctum ejusdem habuerunt et tenuerunt per eum modum liberos, quod nec vicecomites, aldermanni, seu alii ministri ac officarii ejusdem civitatis prædictam capellam sive præcinctum pro aliquibus concessionibus aut impositionibus ibidem levandis seu exigendis, ad opus nostrum et auctoritate Parlamenti nostri concessatæ et impositæ fuerint, ingredi debuérunt aut consueverint; tum tamen jam nuper quandam venellam, vulgariter nuncupatam *St. Martin's Lane*, quæ pars et portio dicti præcinctus existit, temeritate propriâ cum pluribus tibi adhaerentibus es ingressus, ac diversa bona et catalla a tenentibus dictorum Decani et Capituli, domos in dictâ venellâ occupantibus et inhabitantibus, occasione cujusdam impositionis eis per te, quâ auctoritate nesciunt, nuper indicti et impositæ temerè cepisti et asportasti, licet dicti Decanus et Capitulum ad effectum quod dicta bona et catalla eorum tenentibus restitueres, ut teneris; nullâ juris necessitate dicti, sed suâ spontaneâ voluntate, dictam injustam vexationem vitandam, pacemque redimendam tibi, competentem summam summæ per te eis impositæ equalem, ita quoddam ad opus nostrum redderetur et converteretur dare obtulerint, tu tum oblationem hujusmodi acceptare minimè curasti, sed bona et catalla prædicta detines, minus justè, in prædictorum immunitatum lesionem et franchiesiarum violentiam et lesionem manifestas. Nos jura, libertates, immunitates, et consuetudines præfatæ capellæ nostræ, et ad eandem qualitercunque spectantes, firmas et inviolatas observari volentes, ac supplicationem dictorum Decani et Capituli super hoc nobis factam benevolâ promptitudine inclinati, tibi precipimus firmiter injungendo, et mandamus quatenus statim, post receptionem presentium predictarum, bona et catalla a prædicto præcincto, ut premititur, capta et asportata, dictis Decano et Capitulo, ac eorum tenentibus restituas indilatè, te ab hujusmodi temerariis ausibus seu assumptionibus extunc deinceps abstinendo; et hoc, sicut indignationem Dei omnipotentis et nostræ evitare volueris, nullatenus omittas.

"Blanchapelon or the Whitefriars." (page 116.)

I beg to correct this as an erroneous definition. Blanch-

apelton was a manor within the City, peculiarly privileged in being exempt from civic jurisdiction. Vide Maitland's Hist. of London.

WRIT against **WILLIAM ROSSLYN, GENTLEMAN**, on a plea of Debt. **RETURN** thereon of the **SHERIFFS OF LONDON**, that he had entered the **SANCTUARY OF ST. MARTIN-LE-GRAND**. **PROCLAMATION** directed to be made before the gate of the **SANCTUARY** once in every seven weeks, that the party should appear to answer to the plea, &c. (page 125.)

Rex vicecomitibus London suis. Precipimus vobis quòd capiat **Will'm' Rosselyn**, nuper de Cotnes in Comitatu Ebor. Gentleman, si inventus fuerit in ballivâ vestrà, ita quòd habeatis corpus ejus coram Justiciis nostris apud Westm. a die Sancti Johannis Baptisti in xv dies, ad respondendum Johanni Portington, et Ellene uxori ejus, de placito quòd reddat eis quadraginta libras quas eis debet et injustè detinet, ut dicunt. Et unde vicecomites nostri comitatus Ebor. mandaverunt Justiciis nostris apud Westm. a die Paschæ in quinque septimanas, ut prædictus Will'm's non est inventus in ballivâ suâ, et testatur est in curiâ nostrâ, coram Justiciis nostris apud Westm. quod latitat, vagatur, et discurrit in ballivâ vestrà, et ibi potest inveniri: et habeatis ibi hoc brevium. Teste Will'mo Babynton, apud Westm. xxxi die Maii, anno regni nostri secundo.

Will'm's Rosselyn infra scriptus non est inventus in ballivâ nostrâ, eò quòd idem Will'm's ante receptionem istius brevis in Sanctuarium Sancti Martini Magni, London, qui est locus privilegiatus, intravit, et ibidem in præsentem existit, ideo ipsum capere non potuimus.

Rex vic. London, sal. Cùm nuper vobis precipimus quòd capiat **Will'm' Rosselyn**, &c. &c. vos prefatis Justiciis nostris apud Westm. ad diem illam mandavistis, quòd prefatus Will'm's non fuerit inventus in ballivâ vestrà, eò quòd dictus Will'm's ante receptionem brevis vobis directi in Sanctuarium Sancti Martini Magni, London, qui est locus privilegiatus, intravit, et adhuc in præsentem existit, ideo vos ipsum capere non potuistis; et ideo vobis precipimus quòd capiat prædictum Will'm's si fuerit, &c. &c. et quod interim per septimanas continuas semel in septimanâ publicè proclamari faciat ad portas Sanctuarii predicti, quòd prædictus Will'm' veniret coram Justiciis n'ris prefatis apud Westm. ad præfatum terminum, præfatis Johanni et Elene, de placito predicto respondendum, sub poenâ et periculo, in statuto contra debitores ecclesiastica privilegiata intrantes edito, provisio. Et qualiter hoc preceptum nostrum fuerit executum, scire facias Justiciis

nostris apud Westm. ad præfatum terminum. Et habeatis ibi hoc brevium. Teste W. Babynton, apud Westm. sexto die Julii, anno regni nostri secundo.

Nos Nich's James, et Thomas Wandefford, vic. civit. London, vobis significamus, quòd postquam istud brevium nobis lib'at'm fuit Will'm's Rosslyn infra scriptus non fuit inventus in ballivâ nostrâ, ideo ipsum capere non potuimus. Et ulterius prout interius nobis precipitur per quinque septimanas continuas semel in septimanâ publicè proclamari fecimus ad portas sanctuarii infra contenti, quòd predictus Will'm's veniret coram Justiciis specificatis apud Westm'er ad octavum infra contentum, Joh. Portington et Elene uxori ejus, infra nominatis, de placito interius contento, juxta formam istius respondendum.

Istud brevium prout superius indorsatum liberatum fuit nobis Simon Seman et Johanni *By the Water*, nunc vicecomitibus civitatis ejusdem, * per Nich. James et Thom. Wandefford, nuper vicecomites civitatis ejusdem in eorum exitu, ab officio suo, et post receptionem istius brevis de prefatis nuper vicecomitibus Will'm's non fuerit inventus in ballivâ nostrâ, ideo ipsum, nos prefati vicecomites capere non potuimus.

RECEIPT OR ACQUITTANCE to the Priory of St. Bartholomew, for the Pension of St. Botolph's church †, which seems to have been farmed by the CANONS OF ST. MARTIN'S to the above Priory.

Noverint Universi per presentes me Ricardum Cawdray,

* Sheriffs of London anno 1424.

† "The patronage of this church was antiently in the Dean and Canons of St. Martin-le-Grand, but unappropriated, till 25 May, anno 1399, when Richard II. by his letters patent gave licence to Thomas Stanley Dean of St. Martin's and patron of this church, to appropriate the income thereof (at that time not exceeding five marks per annum) to the Collegiate Church of the said St. Martin, for the celebration of a perpetual anniversary for his late consort, queen Anne, upon the day of her death, and that after his demise the said anniversary to be solemnized on his obit for ever. Whereupon the church was, upon the 18th December following, appropriated to that of St. Martin-le-Grand, by virtue of a commission from Robert, Bishop of London, to Thomas Stow, LL. D. his official. By which appropriation the said Dean and Canons were to provide a sufficient maintenance for a chaplain to serve the cure, since which time it has continued a donative or curacy."—Maitland's London, vol. ii. p. 1075.

Decanum ecclesiæ Sancti Martini, London, recepisse et habuisse, die confectionis presentium, de Reginaldo Prioratus Sancti Bartholomei in West Smithfield, London, quatuor libras sterlingorum, in plenam solutionem omnium arreragiorum, cujusdam annuæ pensionis viginti solidorum pro ecclesiâ Sancti Botolphi extra Aldersgate, London, mihi præfato Decano annuatim debitæ, de quibus quatuor libris fateor me fuisse solutum, dictumque prioratum inde esse quietum pro presenti. In cujus rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Dat. in crastinâ paschæ anno regni regis Henrici VI. post Conquestum decimo nono.

A charter of *Insuperimus* granted to St. Martin's, in the 20th of the reign of Henry VI. recites the Charters of William I. as confirmed by Edward I. and also the charter of Henry III. It enters at great length into a particular specification of the privileges previously granted to the foundation in general and obscure terms. From this charter I extract the following clause. "Volumus etiam et concedimus, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, eisdem nunc decano et capitulo et successoribus suis, quodd nec Senescallus, Marescallus, neque Coronator Curie Marescalcicæ hospitii nostri, vel hæredum nostrorum, nec eorum aliquis minister serviens, vel officarius in presentia nostrâ, vel hæredum nostrorum, in feudâ et terrâ dictorum Decani et Capituli, et successorum suorum, ad aliqua eorum officia facienda ingrediantur, sine speciali licentiâ dictorum Decani et Capituli, et successorum suorum.

"Similiter etiam volumus et concedimus, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, eisdem nunc Decano et Capitulo, aut successoribus suis, quodd nullus emptor nec provisor nostri vel hæredum nostrorum, de ipsis nunc Decano et Capitulo, aut successoribus, suis aut de aliquibus tenentibus eorundem, contra voluntatem suam quicquam capiat in futurum."

The instrument is witnessed, and the fee for it paid into the *Hanaper* of the Chancery Court noted, as below. "Hic testibus, H. Archiep'o Cantuar', totius Angliæ primat'; J. Bathon' et Wellen' Cancellario nr'o; W. Lincoln, W. Sar. Epis'; carissimo avunculo n'ro Humfredo Glocestr', ac carissimo consanguineo n'ro Johanne Norff', Ducibus; carissimo consanguineo Johann' Huntingdon, Henr' Northumb', et Will'mo Suff' Senescallo hospitii n'ri, Comitibus. Dilectis et fidelibus n'ris Ra'd'o Cromwell, Thesaurio n'ro Angl', et Rad'o Boteler, Camerafio n'ro, militibus; dilecto clerico n'ro Will'mo Lyndewode, custode privati sigilli n'ri, et aliis. Dat. per manum nostrum, apud Westmonaster', tertio deci-

mo die Maii, anno regni n'ri vicesimo. Per ip'm Regem, et de dat' p'dic'a auctoritate, ac decem marcis solutis in hanaperio.*

KIRKEBY.

MANDAMUS of HENRY VI. to THOMAS BOURCHIER, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Chancellor, to prepare letters patent, by which the Dean of St. Martin's is empowered to expel persons from Sanctuary, who abuse its privileges. (page 145.)

Henricus Dei Gratiâ Rex Angliæ, Franciæ, et Dominus Hiberniæ, reverendissimo in Christo patri, carissimo consanguinitati nostræ Thomæ Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primato, salutem. Vobis mandamus quod literas nostras patentes sub magno sigillo nostro fieri faciatis in formâ sequenti.

Henricus, Rex, &c. Omnibus ad quos, &c. Quamquàm libera capella nostra Sancti Martini Magni, London, et ejusdem loci Decanus et Capitulum, ipsorum etiam homines et tenentes in quâdam venellâ, *Seint Martin's Lane* vulgariter nuncupatâ, aut alibi infra ipsius capellæ precinctum degentes sint in et non de civitate predictâ, habeant quoque iidem Decanus et Capitulum, pro se et successoribus suis, inter cæteras quietentias, libertates, immunitates, et franchises sibi privilegiatas, per inclitæ recordationis progenitores nostras atque nos concessas, auctoritate insuper parlamenti nostri ratificatas, quodd fugientes ad capellam prædictam pro immunitate ejusdem habendâ, seu in eadem ex quacunque causâ existentes, quieti sint et immunes ab omni jurisdictione, arrestatione, impedimento, districtione, sive attachimento majoris vicecomitum civitatis prædictæ, aut Aldermannorum, officiariorum, seu ministrorum ejusdem civitatis nostræ London, quorumcunque, pro prodicione, contemptu, transgressionem, debito, compoto, vel aliâ causâ, compacto, seu occasione quâcunque, ad sectam nostram vel heredum nostrorum vel ad sectam pacis, etiam pro concessionibus aut impositionibus ibidem levandis seu exigendis, licet ad opus nostrum et auctoritate parlamenti nostri imposita fuerint et concessa. Nuper autem accepimus ex fide dignorum testimonio, quodd illorum fugitivorum quidam hujusmodi abutuntur capellæ nostræ Sanctuarium, ut convenit honorificè non observant statuta ejusdem, laudabilibus consuetudinibus disobediunt, noctanter abeuntes furtim, et alia enormia committentes. Ne igitur, gratiâ præmissorum, fugientibus ad dictam liberam capellam nostram, sive precinctum ejusdem, detur diutius auctoritas seu protectio

* Bibl. Lansdown. No. 170. fol. 114.

taliter delinquendi, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est declaramus presentium per tenorem, quodd quicunque illuc confugerit, pro quâcunque causâ fuerit, qui animo furandi, aut quodcunque aliud facinus committendi, dictam capellam et precinctum exierit, si super hoc coram Decano ejusve ministris probabiliter convictus fuerit, extunc bene liceat Decano nostræ capellæ predictæ suisque successoribus, et officiorum eorumdem hujusmodi, exeuntem sive exeuntes quodcunque extunc ipsi capellam nostram sive precinctum re-intraverit sive re-intraverint, ejicere, finaliterque propellere ab eadem, ac si necesse fuerit ad hoc peragendum etiam invocare brachium seculare. Libertatibus, immunitatibus, franchiseis privilegiatis ejusdem Decano et Capitulo, et suis successoribus sive fugientibus et ibidem degentibus, seu aliquibus concessionibus aliquarum franchisesiarum sive libertatum civitatis London, per inclitos progenitores nostros factis sive confirmatis, concessis non obstantibus quibuscunque. In cujus rei, &c. Datum sub privato sigillo nostri, apud Westm. anno regni nostri tricesimo tertio.*

ROBERT STILLINGTON. (page 151.)

This Dean was a great favourite of Edward IV. and was charged with various foreign missions by him. One of these was to endeavour to get the Earl of Richmond, almost the sole surviving representative of the house of Lancaster, delivered into the King's hands, by the Duke of Brittany, in whose dominions he had sought refuge. On the demise of Edward IV. and aware of the Earl of Richmond's designs, he cultivated the interests of Richard III. and assisted at his Coronation. Soon after the overthrow of Richard, and the accession of Richmond to the Crown, Lambert Simnel assumed the person of Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, and nephew to Edward IV. and prosecuted at first with considerable success pretensions to the crown. Stillington favoured this attempt, and on its failure, was, through the disclosures of Lambert, accused of high treason. He fled for refuge to the University of Oxford, from whom the king demanded his person. The University for some time urged their privilege to protect clerks of their learned body from any but their own and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. They however at length delivered up Stillington to the king's officers, and he was confined in Windsor Castle till his death, which happened in June, 1491, about four years after.

* A. D. 1454.

ROBERT STILLINGTON constitutes John Bedford, B. A. Commissary General of St. Martin's, without the City of London. See page 151.

Robertus Stillington, Legum Doctor liberæ Capellæ Regiæ Sancti Martini Magni London, dilecto nobis in Christo Johanni Bedford, in decretis Bacallario, salutem in eo qui sit vera salus. Vestrâ circumspectione, fidelitate, et industriâ plurimum in domino confidentes vos in Commissarium nostrum generalem jurisdictionis peculiaris capellæ supradictæ in omnibus locis extra civitatem London, prefecimus per presentes, et ad cognoscendum et procedendum in omnibus et singulis causis et negotiis infra jurisdictionem predictam, qualitercunque motis seu movendis, ac eas sive ea audiendum, discutendum, et fine debito determinandum. Testes quoque literas et instrumenta et alia quæcunque probationum genera coram vobis producenda sive exhibenda. Nec non ad corrigendum, puniendum, et debite reformandum crimina, excessus, et defectus quoruncunque subditorum dictæ jurisdictionis et aliorum infra ipsam jurisdictionem, delinquentia ad formam, cognitionem, et jurisdictionem nostram, qualitercunque spectantia. Nec non personis hujusmodi delinquentibus pœnas canonicas et salutaris imponendum et infligendum juxta juris exigentia. Ac etiam testamenta et ultimas voluntates quoruncunque subditorum nostrorum hujusmodi, et aliorum infra jurisdictionem nostram predictam qualitercunque decedencium, insumandum, probandum, et approbandum, et si opus fuerit cessandum et annullandum. Administrationes omnium et singulorum bonorum hujusmodi testamenta sive ultimas voluntates concernentium, et aliorum quoruncunque ab intestato decedentium personis idoneis juxta canonicas sanctiones committendum compotumque calculum sive rationem de et super administrationem hujusmodi petendum, audiendum, et recipiendum Executores quoque et bonorum administrationis hujusmodi, ab ulteriori compoto cuicunque faciendum, ab officio dimittendum, et finaliter acquietandum, ac bona hujusmodi testantium, sive ab intestato decedentium, quoties opus fuerit sequestrandum, et sub acto sequestro custodiendum, et custodire faciendum. Sententias quoque suspensionis, excommunicationis, et interdictionis per vos lat' seu fiend', revocandum, et relaxandum, et personas eas qualitercunque involutas in casibus a jure permissis libere absolvendum; omnia et singula faciendum, exercendum, et expediendum, quæ in premissis et circa ea necessaria fuerint, seu quomodo sint opportuna vobis, tenore presentium, commitemus vices nostras. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus apposuimus. Datum London in capellâ predictâ, septimo die Januarii, anno incarnationis Domini 1462º:

THE LIMITS OF THE SANCTUARY OF ST. MARTIN'S, as set forth in the Court of Chancery, by William Boston, Abbat of Westminster. At the same time a sort of plan of the precinct of St. Martin's was exhibited, but very incorrect as to geometrical truth, as it places St. Leonard's Church north, instead of south of St. Martin's, which latter was its real position. This plan may be seen in Stow's Survey of London.

Item. It appeareth by divers returns, made by the Sheriffs of London as well in the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and all other the King's Courts, that the said place of St. Martin's is a place privileged, and Sanctuary, as by the same returns, remaining of record, more plainly may appear.

Item. The said Abbat saith, that the precinct, circuit, and bounds of the Privilege and Sanctuary aforesaid, be, and extend as hereafter followeth.

Imprimis. Beginning at a wall lying directly against a post, that standeth in the middle of one Roger Wright's, a grocer's house*, which standeth of the east side of the south gate of St. Martin's, and from the wall in the said grocer's house, with the half deal of the street, unto the channel of the same side, that house standeth upon, Sanctuary, and so forth from the east, westward unto the midst of St. Martin's Lane, next to the Chapel of St. Martin's, against the tenement of the Bull's head, which tenement lieth at the south end of the said lane on the west part.

Item. Half part of the street of St. Martin's lane, Sanctuary, from the south unto the north, as far forth as the houses appertaining to the Bull's head do extend northwards.

Item. From the said place of the Bull's head, then the whole lane of St. Martin's Sanctuary, on both sides, unto a post or stoop that standeth on the north side or end of the two tenements standing by the great gate, next going into the Dean's court.

Item. From the said St. Martin's lane, at the aforesaid Bull's head, turning by the wall that divideth the said tenement of the Bull's head and St. Martin's ground, which wall turneth and extendeth from the east, westwards, unto a back wall that closeth in St. Martin's ground of the west side, all within the said wall, Sanctuary.

Item. Along by the said back wall that closeth in the west part of St. Martin's ground, from the south end of the said wall into the north, unto a wall that divideth my Lord of Northumberland's ground and St. Martin's ground from the

* In this house, Morton, Bishop of Ely lodged, when he fled to Sanctuary. See p. 153, and Stow's London, vol. i. p. 616.

south end, all within the aforesaid walls Sanctuary. And so forth, from the south side into the north of my Lord of Northumberland's ground, Sanctuary. Along by a back wall of the Grey Friars, which back wall closeth in my Lord of Northumberland's ground of the west part, unto the north part of Angel alley, abutting northwards upon the south of Robert Bowman's house into the streetwards; and so Sanctuary still from the said back wall of Grey Friars, along by the Angel alley, and, by the south part of the said Robert Bowman's house from the west unto the east, until you come to a post or stoop standing on the north part of two tenements next lying on the north side of a great gate entering into the Dean's court.

Item. From the aforesaid wall, along from the north, southward unto Hugh Payne's dwelling house, and from thence by the north side of the said Hugh Payne's garden, Sanctuary still from the west unto east part thereof.

Item. Again from the north side of the above rehearsed Hugh Payne's garden southward unto the Dean's garden, Sanctuary.

Item. Along by the wall on the north side of the Dean's garden, from the west into the east thereof, Sanctuary.

Item. From the north unto the south of the aforesaid Dean's garden with St. Leonard's Church, Sanctuary, as by a wall it there sheweth.

Item. From the east end of St. Leonard's Church, westward of the south of St. Martin's unto the Bell alley, Sanctuary, as appeareth also by another wall there.

Item. From the Bell alley, southwards unto the wall spoken of at the beginning, which is within the grocer's house against the post that standeth within the midst of the same house, and so forth directly again unto the channel of the High street that lieth before the south gate of St. Martin's, all within the bounds rehearsed, Sanctuary.

*Spiritualia Decani et Capi'li Sancti Martini, London.**

Pens' eor'd'm i' eccl'ia de Colmanchurch,	vis. viij <i>d</i> .
Pens' eor'd'm in eccl'ia s'ti Nich'i Colde abbaye,	xs.
Pens' eor'd'm in eccl'ia s'ti Alphegi,	xxxij <i>s</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .
Pens' eor'd'e in ecc'ia s'ti Bothi ex'a Aldrysshgate,	x marc'
S'm' in sp'tualia'	ix <i>li</i> . ii <i>s</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .
Ind' decima,	xviij <i>li</i> . os. iiij <i>d</i> .
Medietas,	ix <i>l</i> . os. ii <i>d</i> .

* Taxatio Spiritualium et Temporalium cleri infra Diœcesim London, circa A. D. 1291. Bibl. Harl. No. 60, fol. 10.

Temp'al' Decani et Capit'li Sancti Martini i' p'ochiis.

Omniu' Sanctor' de Colmanchurche,	xxx.
Sancti Bothi' ex'a Aldriasshgate,	xxxvijs.
Sancte Agnetis	cxvjs.
Sancti Mich'is ad bladum	xild.
Sancti Vedasti	lixs. iiijd.
Sancti Andree Huberd	xlijs. liijd.
Sancti Pet' de Cornehull	vis. viijd.
Sancti Olivii de Muswell	iijs. iiijd.
Sancti Leonardi, juxta S't'm Martinum	vijli. xvs.
Sancte Brigide	iijs.
Sancti Nich'i ad macellas	lxis. iiijd.
S'm' p'cellar'	xxvli.
Ind' decima	ls.
Medietas	xxvs.

*Monasteriu' Sancti Petri Westm. fundacio Regis Henrici Septimi, Midd.**

Et in div' ten't' scit. et jacent' in div's paroch' infra civitat.
London pertin' lib'e capelle sive colleg' Sancti Martini, Lon-
don, vocat' Saint Martin's le Graunte, . . . clxixl. xs. jd.

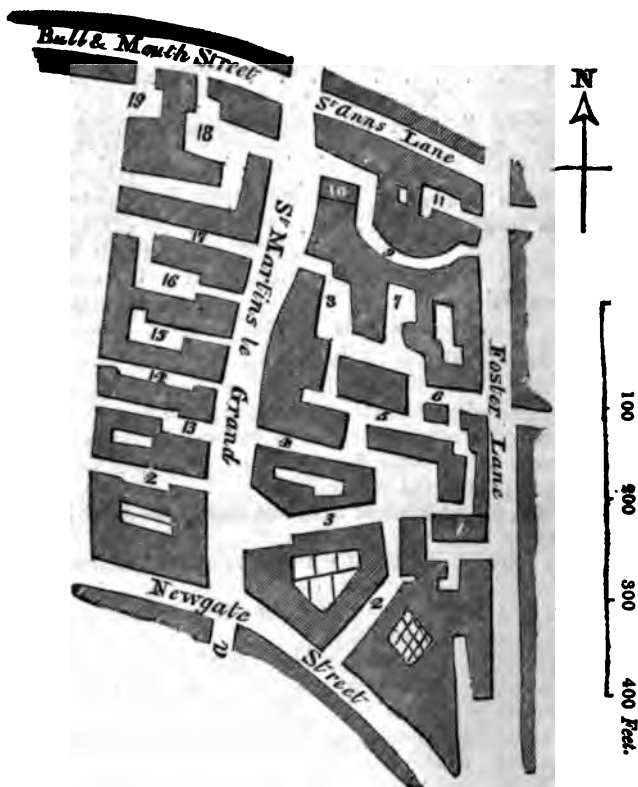
Dignitates infra Collegium S'c'i M'tini Magni Civitatis London.†

Prebenda infra collegium S'c'i Martini Magni London quam Ric'us Pate cl'cus nuper habuit per annum, clarè valet in om'ibus com'oditatib' et profic' eidem p'tin' xxvli. —s. vd.	
X'a inde	is. ob.
Alia Prebenda ib'm quam Thomas Payne nuper h'uit per ann. clarè valet	xxxiiijl. vijs. jd.
X'a inde	xlvijs. viijd. ob.
Cantaria in dicto collegio ex fundac'one Johannis Wytham, per annu' clare	xl. xvjs. viijd.
X'a inde	xxis. viijd.
Alia Cantaria ib'm ex fundac'one Johannis Hemplall per annu' clarè valet.	xild. ixs. vijd.
X'a inde	xxiijs. xjd. ob.
Alia Cantaria ibidem ex fundac'one Stephani Northe, per annu'	xil. iiis. iiijd.
X'a inde	xxijs. iiijd.
Alia Cantaria ib'm ex fundac'one Thome Mauger per annu' clarè valet	xl. xvjs. viijd.

* Valor Ecclesiasticus, temp. Henry VIII, auctoritate Regiæ institutus. Lond. 1810, vol. I, p. 411. † Ibid. p. 385.

	X'a inde	xxix. iiijd.
Alia Cantaria ib'm ex fundac'one pred'câ per annum clarè		
valet	xl. xvjs. viiid.	
	X'a inde	xxix. viijd.
Alia Cantaria ib'm ex fundac'one Johannis Bounde, per		
annu' clarè	xi. ix. vijd	
	X'a inde	xxijs. xid. ob.
Alia Cantaria ibidem ex fundac'one Richardi Candey, per		
annu' clarè	xiii. ix. vijd.	
	X'a inde	xxiijs. xid. ob.
Alia Cantaria ib'm ex fundac'one Johannis Wycombroke,		
per annu'	xl. xvjs. viijd.	
	X'a inde	xxix. viijd.

PLAN OF THE PRECINCT.



REFERENCES TO THE PLAN.

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| a. Panyer alley. | 10. Three Tun Tavern. |
| 1. Site of St. Leonard's Ch. | 11. Three Crown Court. |
| 2. Horse Shoe Alley. | 12. St. John's Alley. |
| 3. Round Court. | 13. Cock Alley. |
| 4. New Rents. | 14. Christopher Alley. |
| 5. Mould-makers Row. | 15. Four Dove Court. |
| 6. George Street. | 16. King's Head Court. |
| 7. Little Dean's Court. | 17. Angel Street. |
| 8. Great Dean's Court. | 18. Meeting. * |
| 9. Bell Court. | 19. Bull and Mouth Inn. |

* This opening into Bull and Mouth-street is marked in Maitland's plan of Aldersgate-ward; it does not now exist.

SUM OF ALL THE RENTS AND PENSYONS, AND FERME OF, TH' OFFICE OF THE DEANRYE OF SENTE MARTEN'S DE Citeye of London belonginge, renewde before William Boston by the soffrance of God of Sent Peter of Westm'r for the Collector of the same, yn the monethe of Septembreoure Lorde Gode, a thousand fyve hondred xxxvii that ys to say for a hole yere begynnyng at Michelmas yn the xxx yere of the raigne of owre Soffereigne Lorde Kynge Henrye the VIIIth, and ended at Mychellm's, yn the xxxiii yere of Kynge Henrye the VIII.

*Tenaments w'tyn the Sowthe Gate of Sent Martyn's, w'tyn the Sentory, yn the lytyll courte.**

Ffyrst, Androw Mores, of London, Grocer, for a tennament on the west side of the sowthe gate of Sent Martyn's the graunte, yn London, for the quarter xxs. per ann. iiij*li*.

Hew Payne, for a tennament next that and iiij shops to the same, anexed unto Sente Martyn's churche dore, for a q'r xxxixs. vijd. p' ann. vijl. xviijs. iiijd.

Gyles Parr, for a tenament next that called the great shop, for a q'r xls. p' ann. viij*li*.

Nycolas Downe, Taylor, for a quarter of his tenament xs. p' ann. xls.

William Rogers, Powche-maker, for a tennament, for ye q'r xvis. viijd. p' ann. iiij*li*. vis. viiijd.

Hewe Payne, for a tenament next that, wt ij lytell shoppes over agaynste that said tenament wt the sellar called the don-geon cellart be ye q'r xvis. viijd. p' ann. iiij*li*. vjs. viijd.

Albart Govertson, Goldsmyth, for a tename't next that, for ye q'r xiiis. iiijd. p' ann. liijs. iiijd.

Phepe Violet, Goldsmyth, for a tename't next that, for the q'r xvs. p' ann. iiij*li*.

Myles Hubbart, Goldsmyth, for a tename't next that, for the q'r xs. p' ann. xls.

Gyllam Pulleyne, Goldsmyth, for a ten'me't next y't, for the q'r xs. p' ann. xls.

* This curious old rent-roll illustrates so well the Topography of St. Martin's, and the nature of its tenants, that I thought it would be acceptable, if given at length.

† This I take to be the identical antient vault described at page 6 of these Notices, used formerly, in all probability, as the prison of the franchise; mention of which is made at page 136.

Garrat Vaucynge, Goldsmythe, for a tennament nexte Sente Lennard's Church, for the quarter viis. viid. p' ann. xxxs. iiijd.

John de Breme, Goldsmythe, for a ten'ment next y't, for the q'r vis vid. p' ann. xxxvjs.

John White, Goldsmyth, for a tenament next y't, for the q'r vis. vid. per ann. xxxvis.

S'm' xliijli. viis. iiijd.

Chambers upon the stayers in the same court.

Nicolas Dowen, Taylor, for a chamber upon the stayer, for the quarter vs. p' ann. xxs.

Nicolas Dowen, for a chamber upon the same stayer, under that, for the quarter vs. p' ann. xxs.

Garrat Clarge, powch-maker for a ten'me't upo' the same stayer, for ye q'r xixs. vid. p' ann. iiijli. xvijjs.

S'm' vii. xvijjs.

Shoppes in the same court.

John Shethar, Lether-sellar, for a shop, for q' iis. iid. p' ann. viijs. viijd.

Hewe Payne, for a tenament wt ii shoppes, for the q'r xiijs. p' ann. liis.

John Maye, Powch-maker, for a tenament, for the q' vis. vid. p' ann. xxvjs.

John Wilcoks, Powch-maker, a ten'me't wt iii shoppes next that, for the q'r xs. xd. p' ann. xliijs. iiijd.

Nicholas Dowen, Taylor, for a tenament next that, and another shop next that, for the quarter xis. p' ann. xliiijjs.

S'm' viiiijl. xliiijjs.

Myghell Story, Boke bynder, for ii chamber, one beneth another above, lyinge next the bell alley dore on the este parte, for the q' iis. iid. p' ann. viijs. viijd.

Garat Clarge, Powch-maker, for a chamber over the said Myghell, for the quater xiijd. p' ann. iiijjs. iiijd.

Mychell Gawser, Powche-maker, a tename't beneth, next that, ye q'r iiijjs. iiijd. xvijs. iiijd.

Myles Store, for a chamber next that, for the q'r iis. iid. p' ann. viijs. viijd.

Nicolas Roye, for a chamber, for the q'r iiijjs. iiijd. p' ann. xvijs. iiijd.

Fraunces Woode, Powche-maker, for a chamber over y't, for the q'r iiijjs. iiijd. p' ann. xvijs. iiijd.

John Burrys, for another chamber next y't, ye q'r iijs. iiijd. p' ann. xiijs.

Chambers w't'yn the Bell Alley in the lytyll Courte.

Herman Cremar, Powch-maker, for a chamber over that, for ye q'r iijs. iiijd. p' ann. xvijs. iiijd.

Derick Costard, Powch-maker, a tename't next that, for the q'r vijs. vijd. p' ann. xxxs. iiijd.

Peter Gober, Hosyer, for a chamber, for the quarter iijs. iiijd. p' ann. xiijs.

Garate Matheson, Powch-maker, for ii chambers, the q'r iijs. iiijd. p' ann. xvijs. iiijd.

Isebrond Derow, Powch-maker, for ii chambers over yt, for the q'r iijs. iiijd. p' ann. xvijs. iiijd.

Nycolas Dowen, Taylor, for a chamb'r, for the q'r iijs. iiijd. p' ann. xvijs. iiijd.

Ffraunces Woode, Powch-maker, for a chamber next to the drawght, for the quarter xiiij. p' ann. iijs. iiijd.

Rowland Johnson, Cordenar, for a lytell howse next that, for the quarter xiiij. p' ann. vijs. iiijd.

S'm' xlii. xliid.

Tenaments w't'yn the Deny's Courte.

In the cloyster, a tenament called the Deynes lodgyng, for the quarter xvs. p' ann. iiili.

Another tenament yn the same lodgyng, in the hands of M. Thomas Payne, p'bendar of Sent Martyn's for the quarter iijs. iiijd. p' ann. xiijs. iiijd.

I'tm. The cloyster, a tenament yn the hands of Will'm Mesynger for the quarter xviijs. xd. p' ann. iiili. xvs. iiijd.

Hew Payne, for a tenament that he now dwelte yn, and for a tenament that ys next the gate yn the Deny's courte, and another tenament next that, for the quarter xxvis. id. p' ann. vli. iijs. iiijd.

John Restale, for a tenament called ye Deny's hale sumtyme, for ye q'r xliid. p' ann. iijs.

Henrye Smythe, for a ten'me't, for the q' iijs. iiijd. p' ann. xiijs. iiijd.

Will'm Selbe, Sentorye man, for a chamber over the gate called the Deny's gate, for the q'r. iijs. ijd. p' ann. xvis. viijd.

S'm'a xliiijli. vijs.

John Richardstone, Cordenar, for a tenament, for the q'r xs. per ann. xls.

The same John, for another tenament, for the q'r xs. p' ann. xls.

Antony Johnson, for a tename't, for the quarter xvis. viiid. p' ann. iiil. vis. viiid.

Harman Velayne, Barbar, for a tename't, for the q' r xvis. viiid. p' ann. iiil. vis. viiid.

Tenements on the Este syde of Sent Martyn's Lane.

John Fygote, Cordenar, for a tenament, for the q' r xvis. viiid. p' ann. iiil. vis. viii.

Will'm Creinar, Cordenar, for a tename't, for the q' r xvis. viiid. p' ann. iiil. vis. viiid.

Hary Johnson, Cordenar, for a tename't next that, for y^e q' r xvis. viiid. p' ann. iiil. vis. viiid.

Edward Ryssel, Cordenar, for a tenament next that, for the quarter xiiis. iiijd. p' ann. liijs. iiijd.

Peter Rycks, Golde smythe, for a tename't next that, for the q' xs. per ann. xls.

S'ma xxvli. vis. viij.

Tenaments in the iiij Dove Alley w't'yn the Sentuarie yn Sent Martyn's Lane.

Garat Clowter, for a chamber over the same kechyn, for the quarter a iijs. iiijd. p' ann. xvijs. iiijd.

Mother Marget, Surgeon, for a tennament next yt, for the q' r vs. p' ann. xxs.

Harman Creinar, for a ten'ment next that, for the q' r a liiis. iiijd. p' ann. xviiis. iiijd.

Mathew Tew, for the howse next that, for the q' r vs. p' ann. xxs.

Yevan Dowbelett, blak smythe, for the house next that, the q' r vis. p' ann. xxivs.

The chamber over the draught in y^e allye, for the q' r iis. iid. p' ann. viiis. viiid.

John Frenshman, for another chamber over the draught, iis. iid. p' ann. xiijs.

Harman Clemer, Taylor, for a ten'me't next it, for the q' r iis. iid. p' ann. viiis. viiid.

Henry Garratson, Cordenar, for the bere howse yn the same allye, for the q' r xvs. vid. p' ann. iiil. iis.

S'm' ixli. vis.

Tenaments Southe-west syde of Sent Martyn's Lane w't ye Xpoffer (Christopher) Alley, and the Cock Alley, and Sent John's Alley w't'yn the Sentuarie.

Henry Halle, Goldesmythe, for a tenament yn the lane, for the quarter xvis. viiid. p' ann. iiil. vis. viii.

Garate Rowter, for a tenament next that yn the lane, for the quarter xvis. viiid. p' ann. iiil. vis. viiid.

Henry Will'mson, Cordenar, for a ten'ment next that, for the q' xvis. viiid. p' ann. iiili. vis. viiid.

James Creinar, at the sygne of the Crystoffer; Garrat Crull, at the sygne of the Mayden hed, with all the whole alley called the Crystoffer alley yn Sent Martyn's lane witheyn the Sento-rye. In the handys of William Tylsworth, Goldsmythe, dwel-lynge yn the Chepe syde, for the q' xxxviis. vid. p' ann. vijli. xs.

John Wyndon, Skynnar, for iiij tenaments wth the shoppys by the strete syde, and dyvers tenamentys yn the Coke alley, for the quarter iiili. iiis. iid. p' ann. xlii. xis. viiid.

Kerst Huryson, Cordenar, for a tenament wt in Sen John alleye for the q'r . . . p' ann. . . .

Garate Will'mson, Cordenar, for a ten. next that yn Sent Martyns lane, for the q'r xxxiijs. ivd. p' ann. vili. xiii. iiijd.

Peter Peterson, Cordenar, for a tenament next that yn Sent Martyn's lane, for the q'r xxviis. iid. p' ann. vli. xis. viiid.

S'ma xxvili. xvis. viiid.

Tename't yn Sent Lenard's p'she, and Sent Myghell yn the Quern w't'out Sent Martyn's gate.

Hew Payne, for the tenament that Roger Wright, Grocer, now dwellinge yn, next the southe gate of Sent Martyn's on the este syde wt iiij. t's ther next and joyning the same towards the Chepesyde, for the q'r iiili. iiis. iiijd. p' ann. xlii. xvis. ivd.

Roger Newis, Taylor, for ii tenamne'ts in the p'she of Sent Mychell in the querne for the q'r xxvs. p' ann. vli.

Thomas Butler, Haberdasher, for a tename't next yt, for ye q'r xvs. p' ann. iiili.

Will'm Layland, for a tenament next that, for the q'r xxxs. p' ann vili.

S'ma xxvili. xvis. viiid.

Tenaments yn the Kyngs Allye yn Gutter Lane.

Edward Westell, Taylor, for the q'r iis. vid. p' ann. xs.

Henry Cotton, a tenament next that, for the q' iis. vid. p' ann. xs.

Henry Lorde, for the q' iis. p' ann. viiis.

Philyp Rider, Tylar, for the q'r iis. p' ann. viiis.

John White, for a tenament next that, the q'r iis. p' ann. viiis.

Richard Carpynter, for the q'r iis. iiid. p' ann. xliiis.

Richard Collens, a tenament, for the q'r xvid. p' ann. vs. iiijd.

Will'm Humfrey, for the q'r xxid. p' ann. viis.

George Payneter, for the q'r xxid. p' ann. viis.

John Hunter, Water-berar, for the q'r is. ix. per ann. viis.

Olyvar Tynkar for the q'r iis. p' ann. viiis.

The voyde place of grounde for the q'r viiid. p' ann. iis. viiid
S'ma iiiii. xvis. viiid.

Tename'ts in dyv's p'shes as in p'ticular p'tys aperythe.

The Ladye Rede, widowe, for ii ten'ments wt a stabull yn the p'ishe of Sent Ann wt Aldersgate p' ann. xiiis. iiijd.

Dotcor Burnell for a garden yn the Barbycan, p' ann. iis. iiijd.
Edward Stalpar, Tylar for sertayne ten'mets in p'ishes of St. Alphege wtin Crepullgate in London, for the q'r xviijs. iiijd, p' ann. iiiii. xiiis. iiijd.

Geffrye Tully, Tylar, for a tenament in the p'ishe of Sent Ketryns Colman, for the q'r vs. p' ann. xxs.

Richard Nele, Salter, for certayne tenaments in the p'ishe of Sent Dunston's in y^e Este, yn London, for the q' xxvis. iiijd. per ann. vii. vis. viiid.

John a Parke, of London, Mercer, for tenaments in Mylk strete in the p'she of Sent Marye Mawdydyn and Sent Larrens, the q'r viiis. viiid. per ann. xxxiijs. iiijd.

Roberte Barker, Vyntner, for sertyne tenaments yn the p'ishe of Sent Nycolas fleshambulls yn London for the q' xxvis. p' ann. vii. vis. viiid.

S'ma xvli.

Tenaments in Olde strete.

Roger Henayngs, a tenament in Olde Ffish streete, for the q' xxs. p' ann. iiijli.

The same Roger Henayngs, Fyshmonger, for a t. next that, for the q' xxvis. viijd. p' ann. vii. vis. viiid.

Will'm Mainprese, for a tename't next that, for the q'r xxs. p' ann. iiijli.

Will'm Bromysgrove, Ffishmonger, for a schop wt a lytell lofte yn thesame strete, for the q' viiis. iiijd. p' ann. xxxviiis. iiijd.

S'm' xvli.

Tenaments in the p'yshe of St. Mary Mont Hawte.

Will'm Breyn, Costardmonger, for a teneme't at Lambart's hill for the q' vs. p' ann. xxs.

The same Willyam, for another howse next it, the q'r iiijjs. p' ann. xvis.

Thomas Ungle Boucher for a stabull wt a hay lofte over yt, for the q'r viiis. iiijd. p' ann. xxxiijs. iiijd.

S'ma iiiii. ix. iiijd.

Item. Sertayne tenements yn Foster lane, in the p'ishe of Sent Lenard's yn the holdyng of Hewe Payne for the q'r xvs. p' ann. iiiii.

S'ma lxs.

Rents of Assyse and Pensions due to be paid at tymes aforesaid.

Of the Erle of Northumberland * for sertyn tenaments set and being wty n the Sentorye in Sent Martyn's lane, due to be paid yerely at ye feste of St. Myghell ix*s*.

Another teneme't thereto be annexed, yerely due to be paid at the same feste aforesaid ii*is*. ii*iiid*.

Of a tename't yn Sent Nycholas fleshambles, in y^e tenor of y^e church wardyns of the tallow chandelards due at the feaste of Sent Myghell aforesaid, p' ann. vi*s*. viii*d*.

Of a ten'me't in Flete strete belonging to the Deane and Chapter of Sente Paule, yn London, due at the aforesaid feaste of Sent Mychell p' ann. ii*ijs*.

Of the Mr. Thom's Becket, otherwise called Ages, for a tename't by London walle, due at the same feste, p' ann. vi*s*.

Of a tenament in Dystaffe lane yn London, sometye occu-
pyde for a bake howse, due at the foresayde feaste, p' ann.
xiii*s*. i*vd*.

Of a tenament in the p'ishe of S. Myghell in y^e querne, due at the feaste aforesaid, p' ann. xii*s*.

Of the prior of y^e hospytall of o' ladye wt'oute Byshopgate, for a tename't in the p'ishe of S. Myghell in y^e querne due at the feaste aforesaid, p' ann. xiii*s*. ii*ij d*.

Pensyons.

Of the Pensyon of the Churche of Sent Kateryn Colman, in London yerely to be p'd at the feaste of Sent Mychell, aforesaide, vi*s*. viii*d*.

Of the Pension of the Churche of Sent Nycholas Flesham-
bulls, yn London, due to be p'd at the feaste of Sent Mychell
aforesaide, p. ann. ii*ili*.

Of the pensyon of Sent Nycholas Colde Abbey Churche in
London, due at the feaste aforesaide, p' ann. x*s*.

Of the pensyon of the church of S. Alphege wty n Crepull-
gate yn London, due at the feaste aforesaide, xxxii*js*. ii*ij d*.

S'ma vi*i*. x*s*.

Of Nycholas Talbote, Ffarmer of the p'sonage of Sent Bo-
tulfe wtowte Aldersgate, payable at the feaste of Ester yn the
Aere aforesayd, p' ann. xviii*li*. whereof resevyde xiii*li*.

Reseavid yn offerynge moneye on Sente Martyn's daye yn
Wynter.

* The Earls of Northumberland had a city residence ad-
joining to the precinct of St. Martin's, in the present Bull-
and-Mouth-street.

It'm. R's. of offerynge monneye on Ester daye yn the yere
 aforsaide yn Sente Martyn's church. Syr Grefethe xvij. viij
 Paper Surveys of Monasteries, Bucks
 to Lond. fol. 146. Augment. Off.

VESTIGES OF ARCHITECTURE, &C. ON THE SITE OF THE
 CHURCH,

The etching which represents the vestiges of architecture, Roman or Saxon, described at page 7, has also a ground plan of them, and of the Gothic crypt adjoining. Some fragments of ornaments, antient vessels, and the token of a tradesman, formerly living within the precinct, are also given as specimens of the articles found by the labourers employed on the works of the Post office. The vessels, which have some elegance of form, may be considered as old English drinking jugs of the sixteenth century. One displays round the upper part, lions' heads and fleur-de-lys alternately placed. The other shews that our ancestors were moral even in their cups, as it is inscribed in a mixed Roman and black letter character, with the words "REMEMBER thy EAND." From Bagford's additions to Stow, additional MSS. in the British Museum, N. 1106, it would appear that the lid of the stone coffin was removed in 1672, and that it was inscribed with the letters, + W. S. R. C.

THE END.

LONDON.

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